

# REMARKS 6.

## ON THE

# Affairs and Trade

## OF *Sir Walter Harris*

# England and Ireland.

Wherein is set down :

1. The Antient Charge of *Ireland*, and all the Forces sent thither from 1170 until the Compleat Conquest thereof in 1602 with the Returns of Forces and Treasure which have been made thence to *England*, towards the Conquests of *France*, *Scotland* and *Wales*.
2. The peculiar Advantages which accrue to *England* by *Ireland*: As also those made in the Course of Trade.
3. The State of the Trade, Revenue, Rents, Manufactures, &c. of *Ireland*, with the Causes of its Poverty. — And the State of the Trade, and Rents of Lands in *England* from the Reign of *Ed. III.* unto this time, with the Causes of their increate and Abatement.
4. The only sure Expedients for their Advancement, with the Necessity and Utility of the Repeal (as well as Suspension) of the Laws against Dissenters; and the Test.
5. How the Reduction and Settlement of *Ireland* may be improved to the Advantage of *England*, and Increase of their Majesties Revenues; 150000*l.* may be raised by *Ireland*, to the ease of *England*, expediting of their Majesties Affairs— And how *Ireland* may be rendered Useful towards the retrenching the Power of *France*.

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*By a hearty Well-wisher to the Protestant Religion, and the Prosperity of these Kingdoms.*

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With Allowance.

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L O N D O N,

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To His  
Grace *James Duke of Ormond*,

The Right Honourable,  
*Richard Earl of Burlington and Cork*, Lord High  
Treasurer of Ireland,

*William Earl of Portland*,

*Sir John Lowther* Baronet, Vice-  
Chamberlain to His Majesty,  
*Richard Hambden* Esquire, Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer,

*Sir Stephen Fox* Knight,  
*Thomas Pelham* Esquire,

Lords of Their  
Majesties Trea-  
sury.

*Sir Henry Ashurst* Baronet,

And

*Sir Thomas Clergis* Knight.

My Lords, and Honoured Gentlemen,

**T**Hese Papers which were writ with a more private design, yet chiefly intended for the Service of Their Majesties and the Publique, are now addressed to your Lordships to render them the more useful to those Ends; the several Eminent Stations in which all of you are, gives you the opportunity of improving whatever is herein proposed to that purpose. The unhappy management of the Affairs of Ireland on every Rebellion, hath made the Charge of their Reduccion to England ten times more than needed. *Cambden* observed that by long usage it was grown a mischievous Custom in Ireland, that Rebels might with part of the Plunder they took from the English procure

*Pardon: Whereby, and the Lenity of England, rebellions were nourished there. This is most certain that the Papists have always had such Influence on the Councils of England, as on the conclusion of every Rebellion, they have been left in a condition to renew them at pleasure; to the great Charge of England, and Ruin of the English Planters in Ireland, and of their Improvements. And now, they, the French K. and the late K. J. have their Instruments at work to that end. But five rebellions having been raised there betwixt 1567, and 1642. and now a Sixth, (of which two formidable and chargeable ones having happened within the memory of many yet living) will, if we be not doomed to Insatiation, instruct us in the necessity of breaking their power, and utterly disabling them for future rebellions.*

*There are a Party of Men who while the late K. J. was in Ireland magnified both it, and the Force of the Irish, but upon the Tydings of the happy progress of His Majesties Arms, (to detract from the Glory of His Acquisitions) they represent that Kingdom as chargeable and useless, nay as disadvantageous to England. It hath however to their Mortification already yielded Laurels to incircle His Royal Brows, and will do Treasure to His Coffers, with a rich Return to this Kingdom of the Charge laid out for its Reduction; if the Settlement thereof be duly attended. It is enough for His Majesty to Conquer, it ought to be the Care of His Ministers to settle and secure. There is indeed a great measure of Wisdom required to improve Victories, as well as Courage and Conduct to Achieve them. It hath been observed to be the Fate of the English to lose that by Treaty, which they gain by Conquest; Five Hundred Years Experience hath verified it (in great measure) as to Ireland. The Affairs and Trade of that Kingdom, its Utility and Importance to England, and the Influence it hath on the Trade and Rents thereof, seems to have escaped the observation of most of our Statesmen and Merchants; I have in these Papers attempted to rescue them from that obscurity, and to lay them before Your Honours. Now that the Affairs of that Kingdom are before You in Parliament, Councils and Committees: For which presumption nothing can Apologize, but the Zeal for the Publick, with which they were written. I am in all humility,*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most Humble Servant,

W. H.

S I R,

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S I R,

The Substance of the First of the Inquiries you Propose, concerns *Ireland*; which I take to be this;

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First, *Whether England hath been Loser, or Gainer, by the Conquest of Ireland, the Charge considered that hath been Expended thereon?*

**Y**OU are pleased to require my Answer to this and the other Queries which you propose, presuming that my Acquaintance with that Kingdom, &c. doth Capacitate me to satisfie you therein. I confess I have made Observations that would at least have Contributed thereunto: But my Absence from Papers that would have inabled a more distinct and satisfactory Account of those matters, might have excused my Disobedience, at least for the present: But being you admit not thereof, but use the Power you have over me in commanding a speedy Compliance; I will in Obedience briefly set down what occurs to me on that Subject; tho' my Sentiments in this matter being different from many others, I foresee the hardiness of undertaking to contradict Common-Fame, or to rectifie a vulgar Error. I have heard several, and among them some of the Famed States-Men of the Age, wish there were no such place as *Ireland*, and fault its nearness to *England* as detrimental or unprofitable. As if had they been consulted, they could have rectified the Creation, by leaving, it out, or placing it better elsewhere. The Error lies in not apprehending its usefulness to *England*. Others gravely tell us (both in Discourse and Print,) that the gaining and keeping *Ireland* hath cost *England* more than the purchase of all that Kingdom is worth. But these are like him who pay'd Ten Shillings for an *Ewe*, kept her Five Years, pay'd Twelve Pence

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Pence per Annum for her keeping, tho' he Yearly received her Lambs and Fleece, yet believed he was Fifteen Shillings the worse by having her. I confess I was once half of the mind, that the Expence of *England* in Blood and Treasure about that Kingdom had been vast: My Curiosity led me to examine whether it were so or no; and I will here faithfully impart what I have met with on that Subject, which will at least lead towards an Answer, if not satisfy your first Inquiry.

Know then, that the *English* footing in *Ireland* did not Commence upon a publick, but private undertaking.

For *Mac-Murogh* King of *Leinster*, having been driven from his Kingdom, gave his only Daughter in Marriage to *Richard Strongbow* Earl of *Chesham* and *Pembroke*, and with her his Kingdom after his Death, on condition he should assist and restore him. The Earl pursuant thereunto, encouraged his Relations *Fitz-Stephens* and *Fitz-Gerald* to joyn in that undertaking, who with near 400 brave Men, put off from *Milford*, and Landed near *Wexford* in *Ireland* in May Anno. 1170. They were soon followed by *Legros* with 130 more; and in August following by *Strongbow* himself with 1200. Many of these Parties were Persons of good Quality, great Valour and attended with wonderful success: For notwithstanding the smart opposition made by the Natives, *Strongbow* in a short time restored *Mac-Murogh*, and enlarged his Dominions to such a Degree, as rendered him suspected by *Henry II.* who by Prohibiting all Commerce with *Ireland*, &c. constrained the Earl to yield him all his Acquisitions in that Kingdom. The King granted back to *Strongbow* the Principality of *Leinster*, reserving all the Port-Towns, and certain Tracts of Land about them to the Crown.

King *Hen.* himself, some write with 4500, others that were amongst 'em say but with 500 Knights, Landed in October 1172. near *Waterford*; his Presence and Fame, with the Terror and Success of *Strongbow's* Arms, so intimidated the Natives in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Conaught*, that Five of their Kings on Notice of his Arrival did him Homage; and became his Tributaries.

The greatest part of his Charge was spent in Royal Entertainments; and his time (for the five Months he stayed there,) in endeavours to settle matters, as wholly in future to cut off from France the usual assistance afforded by the Irish when Attacked by the Arms of England. He had experimented the benefit the Crown received without Charge by *Strongbow's* private undertaking; Therefore he wisely resolved by like Methods to make that part he had gained, bear the charge of Conquering the whole. To that end he distributed large Scopes of Land to the great Men that attended him. As to *Hugh Lacy*, the Kingdom of *Meath*, finding 100 Knights for his Service for ever, &c. About four Years after the

the Irish yielded him, ( or the King imposed ) a Tax of Twelve Pence on every House, or Yoak of Oxen there, which amounted to no small Summ in those days.

After the Death of Strongbow, the King at Oxford made his Son John King of Ireland, and as our own Writers tell us, he divided the Lands of that Kingdom to his Subjects, as well of England as Ireland, to be held of him and his Son John; he gave Miles Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephens the Kingdom of Cork, to whose Relief soon after Arrived there, Richard Cogan with a Troop of Horse and a Company of Foot.

Anno. 1184. Philip de Breos as fore-runner of the young King, went into Ireland with a small Party of Horse and Foot; the next Year the young King followed with no Army, yet Honourably attended, and with some Treasure. This young Counciller (like Rehoboam's,) handled the Irish Princes that Congratulated his Arrival, so roughly, that they were provoked to Rebel: Whereupon Eight Montis after his Arrival he left that Kingdom in a much worse condition than he found it. King Henry's Wars in France, the unnatural Rebellion of his Sons, and his other troubles permitted him not to relieve it; yet to pursue his former Method, he committed the Government of that Kingdom to the Renowned John de Courty, and gave him a Grant of the whole Province of Ulster, then unsubdued; the Irish Princes thereof, having not hitherto owned any subjection to England.

The Valiant Conrcy with 3 or 400 of his friends and followers with the Forces then in Ireland, not only reduced the Rebels in the other three Provinces to their former subjection; but also brought Ulster under the English Yoak.

Richard I. was so taken up with his expedition to the Holy Land, the perfidy of the French King, and his unhappy detention by the Emperor; That he concerned not himself with the Affairs of Ireland, that I find; further then that he Married Isabel, the Sole Heirefs of Strongbow to William Maxfield Earl-Marshal of England; who was also ( in right of his Wife ) made Earl of Pembroke and P. of Leinster.

This Earl left Issue of that Marriage five Sons, ( who succeeded each other to their Fathers Honours and Estate, yet Died Issueless ) and five Daughters, whose Fortunes in Ireland and Wales recommended them to the greatest Pears of England. As Joyce the Eldest to Earl Warren, who had with her the County of Wexford, of whom came the Earls of March, &c. Matilda the second, had the County of Catherlow, and Married Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; Isabel, the third Daughter, had the County of Kilkenny, and Married the Earl of Gloucester and Hereford; Sybilla, the fourth had the County of Kildare, and Married William Ferrars Earl of Ferrars and Darby: Eva the fifth Daughter had the Mannour of Dunmas ( now called the Queens County, ) and Married the Lord Bruise of Gower;

whereby the Revenue of those five Counties became transmittable annually into England. These Ladies, Cambden tells us, enriched their Husbands with Children, Honour and Possessions.

King John having received 1000 Marks from Volois Lord Justice of Ireland, to discharge him without account for the Revenue he had received of that Kingdom; Soon after committed the Government thereof to Walter and Hugh Lacy, who abused his Authority, not only to the Oppression of the Irish, but to the subversion of many of the best English Families also, to that degree, that (our Writers say) their Exactions, Oppressions, and Tyranny (Murders might be added) was intolerable; yet King John instead of easing those Pressures, (if we believe Grafton and Fabian) imposed Taxes on the People of Ireland towards his Wars with France, much greater than they were able to bear. So that by overstretching, he cracked the strings of the Irish Harp whereon for sometime after was only heard the discordant sound of Revolt, Rapin and War in every Corner. To quell which, the 25th of May 1210. The King himself landed near Waterford with an Army (their number no where given us.) The Irish Kings, and great Lords immediately appeased him by Submissions, Homage and Tributes. He granted the English Subjects in Ireland the benefit of Magna Charta, and the Laws of England. He settled twelve Counties, appointed Courts, Judges, Circuits and Corporations as in England; he granted vast Scopes of Land to his great English Lords, in Knight Service for small Rents. For 2500 Marks, he restored Walter Lacy, and for 4000 Marks, Hugh Lacy, and returned into England in August the same year. In the year 1213, being threatned with an Invasion from France, he received from Ireland 500 men at Arms well appointed, and a great number of other Horse, who came to his assistance at Barkham Down.

Henry III. during his 56 years Reign, was so fully employed by the French in the Bowels of England, the Welsh and Scotch on his Borders, and his great Lords at home, That he neither assisted, nor minded Ireland, further than to draw powerful Assistances of men thence, which he received against France Anno 1230, and 1254; and against Wales in 1245, in 1256, &c. as he had done of Victuals in the beginning of his Reign, having received thence 1000 Bacons, two Ships load of Corn, and one of Oats. The Clergy of Ireland granted him a Subsidy, and he received Aid thence towards paying a Debt to the Dauphin of France. He made his eldest Son Edward Lord of Ireland. The 17th of his Reign the King of Conaught exhibited a Complaint, That although he had ever since King John subdued him, duly paid his annual Tribute of 5000 Marks, yet he was disturbed by John de Burgo.

Edward the First being in War with Scotland, and the Irish generally in Rebellion, the Scots invaded Ireland, and committed all manner of Bar-

Barbarities; but were not only expelled, but followed by the *English* of *Ireland*, who severely revenged the Injury they had received, and therein did acceptable Service to the Crown of *England*.

In Anno 1293. The King drew Succours from *Ireland* against the French, as he did against the Scots, when Balliol, the Chair and Marble were taken, and the two latter brought thence. Two years after another considerable Army from *Ireland* met the King near *Edinburgh*, and tendered him considerable Service; as did a third Army from thence at the Battle of *Falkirk*. Soon after which Tho. Bissel with a party from *Ireland* invaded *Scotland*, and possessed himself of the Isle of *Arrain*, which the King gave to him and his Heirs as an acknowledgment of his good Service. This King received the whole Tenth of all Ecclesiastical Revenues in *Ireland* for seven years, and one Fifteenth of the Temporality towards the holy War: Also Aid towards the Marriage of his Sister, and several times pressed them for other Aids.

The Scots soon after they had given *Edward II.* that great defeat at *Bonoksborne*, (encouraged by that Kings Male-administration) took the opportunity to revenge the Mischiefs they had received from *Ireland* in the former Reign.

*Edward Bruce* twice invaded *Ireland*, and notwithstanding the opposition he met with, over-ran and sacked a great part of it, destroyed Men, Women and Children, Towns, Churches, and all that came in his way, and excited the *Irish* to almost a general Rebellion, while the Scots King made a like havock in all the North parts of *England*.

This *Edward Bruce* was Crowned King of *Ireland*, but, though his Rage was great, his Reign was short, it being but one year. The Cruelties committed by the Scots were so many, as caused even the *Irish* to abhor and abandon them, who therefore joyned with the *English*, who at last defeated *Bruce's* Army, cut off his Head, and as an acceptable Present sent it to King *Edward*.

In this War the Scots lost 30000, and the *Irish-English* 15000 fighting men, besides others. The whole Land was almost wasted, impoverished and depopulated; yet the King was so far from relieving or succouring it, That he required, and received thence the 12th Penny from all the Temporality towards defending *England* against the Scots.

In his 16th year, he was attended at *Curlee* by the *Earl of Louth* with 6000 foot and 300 men at Arms, and 1000 *Hoblers*, all well appointed; and by the *Earl of Ulster* with 300 men at Arms, and in the 17th year of his Reign he was supplied thence with 5000 Quarters of Corn sent him to *Aquitain*.

I do not find that there was any standing Army in pay in *Ireland*. When *Edward III.* first ascended the Throne (nor for several years after) the whole charge of the Civil List then amounted but to 308 l.

3 s. for a year, and it was because the chief Governor was a great Favorite, that he had 500 *l. per Annum* for his Entertainment, out of which he was to maintain twenty or thirty Horsemen.

In the 6th year of this Kings Reign, *the Lord Darcy with a potent Army from Ireland, invaded Scotland.* So that (as our Writers express it) what by the King on the one side, and by the Irish on the other, Scotland was subdued, and Baliol placed on the Throne. And two years after the same Lord Darcy over-run part of Scotland, and the Isles, which he might have possessed had they been worth keeping. Notwithstanding which, this King, the 15th year of his Reign, recalled all the Royal Franchises and Liberties; and resumed all the Lands and Signories that had been granted by him, or his Father; which put the English born there, into almost as bad a Condition as the Natives, and tended to unite them as fellow sufferers, and laid the Foundation of innumerable Mischiefs. Yet an Army went thence to help the King then in France, and did him good Service, and were with him at the Battle of Cressley, as did another party from Ireland go to him, to the Siege of Calais, Anno 1347.

In 1353. Sir Tho. Rokerby carried over into Ireland ten men at Arms, and twenty Archers. In 1361 the King made his third Son Lionel Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant; he married Elizabeth de Burgo, whose Fortune was 30000 Marks per Annum. In her right he was Earl of Ulster, Lord of Meath and Conaught. Here I must dissent from a truly worthy learned and scrupulous Enquirer into the Affairs of that Kingdom; who will not allow her Fortune to be above the Moiety of that Summ, because that what thereof lyes in Ulster, being seized into this Kings hands from the 5th to the 8th of his Reign, (by an odd account) yielded but about 0900 *l.* But he neither considered the Frauds of Concealors and Collectors, nor remembered the late devastations made by Bruce, whereby not only all Ulster, but a great part of Ireland was laid waste and unpeopled, and the English by Dissentions in Arms against one another, in those very years; so that the instance affects not the Case, for those Rents and Profits were of very great value, and might have been a thousand times more in settled times, notwithstanding there was received no more in those three years.

This Duke carried over with him 1500 men, chiefly to recover his Wifes Inheritance; yet he was so far from using them solely to that purpose, That he only recovered part of Meath, and of the Sea-Ports of Ulster; for the Condition of the Kingdom requiring, he employed them (with good Success) in Leinster, and Munster, therein, as in many other Respects, he preferred the publick good to his particular Advantage; in acknowledging of which, and other good Services, the Clergy and Laity gave him two years full Profits of their Tythes and Lands.

William

*William Winfor* was sent Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and with him a party of men ; but their number ( being as I suppose but small ) is nowhere given us. He undertook for 11213 l. 6 s. 8 d. per Annum, to bear the whole Charge of that Kingdom both Civil and Military. During his Government he obtained 5000 l. of the Parliaments of that Kingdom towards maintenance of the Kings Wars, which I presume was those with *France*.

*Richard II. Anno 1384.* committed the Government of *Ireland* to *Robert Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, and Duke of *Ireland*, during his Life, with Power to receive the whole Revenue without Account, and to keep an Army of 1000 Archers, and 500 men at Arms for two years. But I do not find that either he or his men went thither, for the Kings Affections to him were such, that he would not bear his absence. Yet he continued Lord Lieutenant seven or eight years, during which he constituted several Deputies, and received most of the Profits of that Government to his own use.

The King being reproach'd abroad, That he could neither rule *England*, keep his part in *France*, nor finish the Conquests of *Ireland*, he resolved to retrieve his Reputation in respect of the last ; To that end he took Shipping in *October 1394*, and landed at *Waterford* with an Army of 34000 Men, but to little purpose ; partly for that he suffered himself to be cheated ( as were his Predecessors ) by the feigned Submissions of most of the Irish Princes, and great Lords, who on his arrival humbled themselves. Some of whom quitted all Title to their Estates in *Leinster*, and conditioned with their Swords ( under the Kings Pay ) to carve out Estates for themselves in other parts of the Kingdom ; with which the King was constrained to be satisfied, by reason of the Clamour and Importunity of the Clergy of *England*. Whose constant hatred of Reformation, and fear that the Enormities of their Lives, and Corruption of their Doctrines should be exposed by the *Wicklits*, caused them to send the Bishops of *York* and *London* to hasten the Kings return. The truth is, they wanted the Royal Authority for persecution of the Innocent, and suppression of the Truth.

To gratifie their Importunity the King returned at *Shroveride* or *Easter* following, having sufficient Power, but not time to do any thing considerable.

At his departure he left *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, his Lord Lieutenant who, ( in right of his Wife ) was Earl of *Ulster*, Lord of *Conaught*, *Meath* and *Clare*, and next Heir to the Crown. He was murdered there four years after.

It was customary until near this time, for the Lord Chancellor to pay annually 2000 Marks into the Exchequer, for the use of the great Seal, which

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which went a great way towards bearing the charge of that Kingdom in peaceable times. But the Fees being much abated, that branch of the Revenue did so too.

In Revenge of the Murder of the Earl of *March*, King *Richard* went thither again in *April* 1398. with such an Army, as with their Necessaries and Followers took up a Fleet of 300 Ships. The Irish generally mollified him by their old Method of Submissions. The obstinate he intended to have subdued. But the Tidings that the Duke of *Lancaster* ( afterwards *Hen. IV.* ) was landed in *England*, and claimed the Crown, called him back; so that he landed in *England* the 24<sup>th</sup> of *June* following, and soon after ( for his Male-administration ) lost first his Crown and Liberty by Order of Parliament, ——— and then his Life by the hands of Villains. The Clergy nor Parliaments of those times had not imbibed the Doctrine of Non-resistance, or Passive Obedience, or that the Crown could not be forfeited by Male-administration, or that it could not for the good and Preservation of the Community be transferred, or that any Legal Possessor of it might dislize the Subject of his Liberty or Franchises, or take away and dispose their Estates at Pleasure.

You must know that from the time of King *Hen. II.* his Expedition into *Ireland*, until this time, *Ireland* was of the same use to the Crown, that *Tangier*, and the pretence of a War with *France* was to *Charles II.*

*Richard II.* had often, and now *Hen. IV.* began to desire Money from the Parliament of *England* for supply of *Ireland*, and had a Subsidy granted for three years of 50 s. for every Sack of Wool Skins and Woolfels from every Denison; and 4 l. from every Stranger. Also one Tenth, and one Fifteenth for support of his War with *Scotland*, relief of *Calais*, and *Ireland*; but he found so much use for it in *England*, that I do not find that one Penny of it went thither.

But on the other side, being in War with *Scotland*, the English of *Ireland* fought the Scots in his quarrel at Sea, where many of the first were killed and drowned.

In 1405, They took three Scotch Ships, and their Commander; and twice in Favour of *England* invaded *Scotland* with good Success; and the same year invaded *Wales*, did much harm to the Welch, and carried away good Booty.

This King made the Duke of *Lancaster* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for seven years. He went thither in 1401. and returned into *England* in 1403. his Entertainment or Salary was but 666 l. 13 s. 4 d. per Annum. And it was because he was the Kings Son that it was so much.

So inconsiderable were the Armies that were kept up in *Ireland*, that it was an honour placed on this Duke, that he was permitted to have an Army of 1500 men in all *Ireland*, though many of the Irish were in Rebellion,

bellion, and so frugally were the Affairs of that Kingdom managed, that this Duke was limited to keep up that Army but for three years.

About *Lammas* 1408. The Duke of *Lancaster* went into *Ireland* a second time, and narrowly escaped being killed by some of the Rebels. At his arrival there he compelled the Earl of *Kildare* to pay him 300 Marks for his Male-administration. He had a *Tallage* granted him by the *Parliament* of *Ireland*, and returned into *England* next *March* after his landing in *Ireland*. Whoever looks into the Troubles of this Kings Reign, will see that he could supply *Ireland* neither with Men nor Money.

*Hen. V.* was so fully taken up with his Conquests in *France*, that he minded *Ireland* no further than to draw Supplies thence, which he did *Anno* 1412. under the Earl of *Ormond*. And in 1417 the Prior of *Kilmainham* with 1600 in Mail, with Darts and Skeyns, all tall nimble men, arrived at the Camp before *Rouen*, and joyfully accepted the most dangerous Post, wherein they so acquitted themselves, that our Writers tell us no men were more praised, nor did more harm to their Enemies: For by their Agility of Body, and swiftness of Foot, they did more mischief the Enemy, than their barded Horses did hurt to the nimble Irish. And in the seven years of his Reign, the French Historians tell us, that the Irish did over-run all the Isle of *France*, did innumerable damages to the French, and daily brought *Victuals* and *Preys* to the English Army, which so terrified the French about *Paris*, that they fled and left the Country desolate. The *Parliament* of *Ireland* granted this King 1700 Marks at several times towards the maintenance of his Wars.

The English in *Ireland* being wasted with the Supplies they had yielded to *England* against *Scotland*, *Wales* and *France*, and the frequent Rebellions there, the *Parliament* there represented the ill Condition thereof in 1442, to *Hen. VI.* and that by reason thereof, the Publick Revenue was 1456 l. per Annum less than the necessary Charge.

The Cardinal of *Winchester*, the better to engross the King, and that he might rule at Pleasure, caused *Richard* Duke of *York*, Earl of *Ulster* to be sent Lord Lieutenant thither; to induce his Acceptance, he gained the King to promise the Duke all the certain and casual Revenue of *Ireland*, and 2666 l. 13 s. 4 d. for the first year ( to be paid out of of *England*, ) and 2000 l. Sterling per Annum for seven years more; but this was ill paid. However he had several Successes against the Rebels, gained the Hearts of the English, made good Laws, and governed so worthily, That out of Gratitude and Inclination to him, he was assisted in his Pretensions to the Crown by *Kildare*, and several great Parties out of *Ireland*, as was the King by another Party thence under the Earl of *Ormond* in the 34<sup>th</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> years. A great Party thence was

cut off, and fell with him at the Battel of *Wakefield*, as many from *Ireland* did on the other side at *Mortimer's Cross*; these great Losses furnished the Natives with opportunities to enlarge their Borders, and streighten the *English*.

About Anno 1474. the 14th of *Edward IV.* The Parliament of *Ireland* erected the Fraternity of *St. George*, consisting of Thirteen Noblemen, who were yearly to chuse of themselves a Captain of the Brotherhood, who for his year was to command 120 Archers on Horseback, at 6 *d.* per diem, forty Horsemen at 5 *d.* per diem, forty Pages at four Marks per annum, to be paid out of a Subsidy of 12 *d.* per pound, laid on all Merchandize Imported or Exported. And these were all the standing Forces in pay at this time. Six years after, *Richard Duke of York* being Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Kildare* his Deputy did undertake to keep that Kingdom in peace with eighty Archers, and twenty Spear-men all on Horseback for 600 *l.* per annum.

The Infancy of *Edward V.* gave his unnatural Uncle the opportunity of Murthering him, together with his Brother in the Tower, whom he succeeded under the Title of *Richard III.* Anno 1483. but a period was put to his Tyranny, Usurpation and Life in 1485.

*Henry VII.* held himself under no obligation to do much for *Ireland*, because two walking Spectres thence, ( *Lambert and Warbeck* ) disquieted a great part of his Reign, yet in 1487. he sent over 500 Men under *Sir Richard Edgcomb*, ( some write that he carried no Forces with him ) and about fifty more Anno 1492. The next year after, the King by Act of Parliament there, resumed all the Crown Lands that had been granted away since the first of *Henry VI.*

In the Ninth year of his Reign, he sent over *Sir Edward Poyning* his Deputy, and with him 940 Men. He (by his Policy rather than force) did more Service to his Prince, and good to the *English* there, than any of his Predecessors, by gaining that Parliament to Enact, That all the Publick Statutes of *England*, made before that time, should be in force in *Ireland*, That no Parliament be held there until the Bills be first certified to the King under the great Seal there; and those Bills be affirmed by the King and his Council to be expedient for the Land, and Power be given under the great Seal of *England* to call a Parliament; and many other beneficial Statutes. He gained the King a Tax of 26 *s.* 8 *d.* out of every 120 Acres Arable Land, in Lieu of Purveyance, and a Resumption of all Grants made since the first of *Edward III.* which in Anno 1499. was followed with a Subsidy of 12 *d.* per pound on Imported Commodities, and a Subsidy from the Clergy and Laity; and in Anno 1508 he had 13 *s.* 4 *d.* granted him out of every 120 Acres Arable Land.

In Anno 1515. The Parliament of Ireland granted Henry VIII. a Subsidy. In Anno 1520. The Earl of Surry was sent Lord Lieutenant with 200 Men, (some say 900 more) but whatever the number was, they all returned for England with him the next year. The Souldiers pay at this time was 4 d. per diem.

In 1524. The Earl of Kildare undertook the Government, and to defray the whole Charge of the Kingdom with its own Revenue, which he and his Deputy held with little interruption for near ten years. Anno 1529. Sir William Skeffington carried over 200 Men, according to some 500. In 1534. he carried over 750 to suppress the Rebellion of the Fitz-Geralds; as did the Lord Grey 200 more the next year, who ended it; upon which, 750 of the Army was disbanded. This Rebellion is said to cost the King above 20000 l. The Revenue of the Kingdom by reason of that Rebellion being but 5000 l. per annum. To repay which, or prevent the like charge in future, The King had the first Fruits, then the twentieth part of all Ecclesiastical Livings, then the first Fruits of all Abbeys, Priories and Colledges, in that Kingdom given him. Kildares Estate of 893 l. per annum, and many great Estates of those concerned in that Rebellion were all given to the King, as also all Lands belonging to all Abbeys, Priories and Colledges there. And the Estates of many Absentees.

Hitherto the Wars in Ireland was mostly between the English, and Native Irish, on the Score of Civil Interest. But from the time of this Kings first Divorce, and Kildares Rebellion, the degenerate English joined with the Irish, and pretended Religion for their subsequent Rebellions, which thenceforth became more frequent, and more formidable, being fomented and abetted sometime by the Emperor, sometime by France, sometime by Spain, mostly by the Pope; especially from the time of the Kings assuming the Supremacy. Henceforward they have been no longer Loyal, than whilst they have been compelled to be so.

In 1539. Sir William Brereton carried over 250 Men. In 1542, the Parliament gave Henry VIII. the Title of King of Ireland, all his Predecessors having only had the Title of Lord thereof.

In Anno 1543. the Irish Revenue (besides Customs, first-Fruits, Tributes ——— and some other particulars) amounted but to 8700 l. per annum, and the whole charge to but 10500 l. The Chief Governour upon all Warlike Expedition (by an antient usage in that Kingdom) did Tax each County with a certain Summ of Money to defray the charge thereof: So that it is not easie to apprehend that Ireland at this time could be a charge to England. The standing Army was but 375 Horse and 150 Foot. In 1544. 700 Men were sent from Ireland into France, who greatly dammied the French, and by pretty Stratagems,

contributed to the supply of the Army with Provisions. And in obedience to the Kings commands 3000 Men were sent from Ireland against Scotland.

In 1547. Edward VI. to secure that Kingdom (upon the Reformation of Religion) sent thither 600 Horse and 400 Foot under Sir Edward Belingham, who with the Forces there, subdued the *Demseys*, *Connors*, and *Moore*s then in Rebellion, whereby *Offailie* and *Leixe* were forfeited to the Crown.

This King being incumbered with Wars with France, and Scotland, and many Rebellions at Home, did (as Haywood tells us) draw much people from Ireland to serve him in his Wars. To replenish which, in the fourth year of his Reign, he sent thither 400 men and 8000 *l.* And the next year the English from Ireland invaded the Isles of Scotland.

In 1556. Queen Mary committed the Government of that Kingdom to the Earl of *Suffex*, who carried Sir Henry Sidney with him, (and 25000 *l.* in Cash) by whose assistance he finished what Belingham had so worthily begun, in breaking the power of the *Demseys*, *Connors*, *Moore*s, &c. whereby *Leixe* and *Offailie* were Vested in the Crown, and English Plantations settled in those parts, now called the King's and Queen's Counties. The Irish Parliament then gave the Queen a Subsidy of 13 s. 4 d. out of every Plough-Land for ten years, which was a great addition to the Revenue. In 1558. This Earl had 500 men out of England, with whom and the Forces of that Kingdom, he invaded the Isles of Scotland, took some, and sacked several others of them; the standing Army there, in this Reign when most, was less than 1700. and sometimes less than 1100.

In 1560. which was two years after Q. Elizabeth's Accession to the Crown, there was 500 Foot sent into Ireland to recruit the Army.

In 1565. The Army in the Queens pay was but 1200 Horse and Foot. The Charge of the Civil List about 1500 *l.* per annum. The Revenue of Ireland surmounted 10000 *l.* per annum, besides large *Sums* frequently gained from the Irish Lords on their Submissions and Tribute imposed on them, so that the Queens Charge could be but small, considering that all the Freeholders on every occasion of Marching the Army against any Rebels, were obliged to send certain numbers of Horse and Foot, with Provisions to attend the Chief Governour, or Commander in Chief of the Army.

This Parsimonious Queen to avoid Expence, and the sending men for Ireland, ordered that every Tenant there that paid her 40 *l.* per annum Rent, should be obliged to find a Horseman, and every one that paid 6 *l.* 13 s. 4 d. per annum a Footman, Armed for her Service; to be ready on all occasions.

About this time O Donnel submitted to the Queen, and conditioned to pay 200 *l.* per annum, and to attend her Army on all occasions with a number  
of

of Horse and Foot; as did many others of the Irish, who submitted on like conditions of Compositions, and Assistance; which not only augmented the Revenue, and lessened the Charge of the Army, but helped much towards paying for their Fetters. This O Donnell five years after paid the Queen 1200*l.* for Delinquency and Arrears of his Composition.

In 1565. The Valiant Captain Randolph Landed at Derry with a Troop of Horse, and 700 Foot to settle a Plantation; he did great Service, although at last he lost his Life in the Improvement of a memorable Victory which he obtained against the Rebels. In 1569. Captain Ward with 400 Souldiers were sent into Ireland; he landed at Cork.

The Queens great Study was to enlarge and firm her Conquest in Ireland, without Charge. In order thereunto she attempted to tread in the steps of Henry II. and several of his Successors, who gained most of their Interest in that Kingdom, at the charge of a few of their Subjects, with little charge to the Crown or Kingdom of England: In order thereto, the Queen in 1572. incouraged Sir Tho. Smith at his own Charge to settle an English Colony in the Ards. She granted every Footman 120 Acres, and every Horseman 240 Acres (which then was as much as 500 Acres in England) paying her one penny per Acre per annum. And the year following she Lent the Earl of Essex 10000*l.* on a Mortgage, and gave him half the *Clandeboys*, on condition that he should Plant 200 Horse and 400 Foot; each Horseman was to have 400 Acres, and each Footman 200 Acres, paying 2*d.* per Acre Quit-Rent. Where that Noble Lord did perform many brave Exploits, and had done much better had he not been countermined by the enmity and opposition of several Great Men both here and there.

In 1576. An Antient Tax called the Cefs (of five Marks on each Plow-Land) which had been discretionarily levied by the Chief Governours there, from Edward III's. time to this, (under pretence of Prerogative) had by this time been Arbitrarily stretched to eight or nine pounds a Plow-Land; being now complain'd of as a publick grievance, was reduced within its first Bounds. Yet notwithstanding this, and other Regulations, the worthy Sir Henry Sidney who governed there, augmented the Queens Revenue 11000*l.* per annum above what he found it.

Until this time (according to the best of our Writers) England gained and maintained its footing in Ireland, with very inconsiderable Charge to the Publick. But henceforward the Charge became much greater, mostly occasioned by the Queens great Parsimony, who always employed incompetent force for subduing the Rebellions that were raised, whereby they were lengthened to trebble the time and charge that would

would else have served. I know not whether it ought to be reckoned as expended for the Conquest of that Kingdom (tho' that was the Issue of it) because the greatest part of it was occasioned by the King of Spain.

The Queen, to divert that King from attempting *England*, employed and fought him in the *Netherlands*, mostly at the cost of the *Dutch*, and lie to divert her from assisting the *Dutch*, or Invading his Dominions; fomented Rebellions in *Ireland*, and assisted them with Men, and some Money, yet fought her mostly at the cost of the *Irish*.

In 1579. There was 600 Men sent out of *Devonshire* into *Ireland*, yet they made up the Army there in the Queens pay but 1100 Horse and Foot. But the Rebellion of *Desmond* and others, (and the *Spaniards* that joined them) did require the augmentation of the Army. To that end three Companies were sent from *Berwick*, and 150 Horse under Capt. *Norris*. And in 1580. Six Companies under Capt. *Berkley*, and 150 Horse under *C. Rassel*, which in 1582. were followed with 400 under the Earl of *Ormond*. These with the *Militia* of that Countrey, killed *Desmond*, destroyed his Confederates in that Rebellion, expelled the *Spaniards*, and restored such measure of Peace to the Kingdom, that the publick Revenue of it for the year 1583. amounted to about 24000 *l.* and thenceforward it encreased mightily, by the firm Settlement of Estates, and Enlargement of Trade, insomuch that in 1584. the Lord Deputy proposed to the Queen, that if she would add but 50000 *l.* for three years to the *Irish* Revenue, he would engage with both to defray the whole Charge of the Kingdom, maintain 2000 Foot and 400 Horse, Wall Seven considerable Towns, Erect Seven great Bridges, and Build Seven strong Castles: But she comply'd not therewith.

However in 1585. In order to put that Kingdom into a good posture of Defence, and of little Charge to the Queen, the Lord Deputy appointed a gross Survey to be taken of the Province of *Conaught* and *Thomond*, whereby they were found to contain 8095. *Plov-Lands* profitable, the Proprietors of which agreed to pay the Queen a chief Rent of about 4000 *l.* per Annum, and to find 1254 Foot, and 264 Horse for the Queens Service within that Province, and 347 Foot and 108 Horse at any time for 40 days in any part of *Ireland*.

A Militia also was settled in *Munster* of 4500 Bill-Men and 900 Shot. And the Queen being Intituled to near 600000 Acres of Land by the *Forfeitures* of *Desmond* and his *Accomplices* (his particular Rents being above 7000 *l.* per Annum) She granted those in *Kerry*, *Conilagh* and *Limerick*, together at 2d. per Acre. Those in *Waterford* and *Cork* at 3d. per Acre per Annum Quit-Rent. Every 300 Acres finding a Horseman, and every 200 Acres a Foot-Man Armed for her Service.

A Militia being thus settled, the Queen in 1587. Remanded 1000 Soldiers

diers out of Ireland, which she sent into Holland, and that Kingdom enjoyed a kind of tranquillity for above Twelve Years.

In 1597. Tyrone and others broke out into Rebellion: Whereupon General Norris with 3000 Men were sent thither. But the successes of the Rebels required greater Forces, so that 100 Horse and 2000 Foot more, were sent thither Three Years after.

In 1598. The Government of that Kingdom was committed to Robert Earl of Essex; with Power from England to encrease the Army there (which were about 8000 men) unto 20000 Horse and Foot. Yet this Brave, but Unfortunate Earl effected little.

The Lord Mountjoy succeeded in that Government, who with 15200 Horse and Foot that he found there; and 2000 Men that were sent him in 1601. from England; expelled the Spaniards, suppressed the most general and formidable Rebellion that untill then had happened in that Kingdom. And therewith finished the entire Conquest of that Kingdom, wherein this Queen employed more Forces, and spent more Treasure than all her Progenitors: For we are told that it cost her Eleven Hundred Ninety one Thousand two Hundred Forty Eight Pounds Sterling, besides the Revenue of that Kingdom.

Camden suggests, it was the ill choice of Officers, Lenity, and Parsimony of the Queen, and some about her, that occasioned her great Expence, for that had the work been effectually set upon with competent Force and Treasure, it might have been perfected with a quarter of the Charge.

The English in Ireland at this time being generally Papists, were very backward in granting Supplies against such as broke out into Rebellion. For tho' by the vigilance of the Government, many of them were awed, and hindred from joyning with those in open Rebellion, yet were their Hearts so much with them that they not only obstructed the granting of Money to the Queen, but parted with much to Rome, where they purchased Pardons for not Actually and Openly joyning with the Rebels. The Principles of that Religion, Teaching them, that it was Sin not to Rob, Murther and Rebel. However the chief Governour and Protestant Party prevailed so far, as to gain their Parliaments in the Second of the Queens Reign, to grant her the First Fruits and Twentieth Part of all Ecclesiastical Livings. In her 11th. Year a Subsidy, as also a Custom on Wines; and at several times many large Scales of Lands on the Attainders of Arch-Rebels. The chief Governour there indeed by Antient usage did on every March of the Army, &c. Cess the Country discretionarily for their support, which was some help.

*The Result of what hath been hitherto said is this.*

That Strongbow Conquered most of the Province of Leinster.

Hugh

*Hugh De Lacy Conquered Meath; Cogan, Fitz-Stephens, Bruce and Poer, the Province of Munster. Bourke and De Claro, part of Conaught and Thomond. Sir John De Courcy Conquered much of Ulster.*

That all this was done with little or inconsiderable Charge to the Crown (for the first 400 Years, which reached to the middle of Queen Elizabeths Reign) except in those expeditions of Henry II. King John, and Richard II. the last of whom only, carryed over an Army capable of doing any considerable Service.

The most part of that time, there was no standing Army kept in that Kingdom (at the Charge of England) except what was paid by the Irish Revenue.

That when Armies were Raised, they seldom exceeded a Regiment or two, and were only kept up during the chief Governours being upon Service against some particular Rebels, for at his Return to Dublin, or in the beginning of Winter they were usually Disbanded.

That the whole Charge of the Civil List (of which I have the particulars) in Edward III. his time, was but 308 l. per Annum. Towards the latter end of whose Reign (in a time of Rebellion) when an Army was sent thither, the whole Charge of both Civil and Military Lists were but 11213 l. 6 s. 8 d. per Annum.

That in 1442. That Kingdom being weakned, drained, and impoverished by the supplies afforded thence to England; Their Parliament represented it to Henry VI. as a mighty evidence of the deplorable condition of that Kingdom: That the expence thereof (in that wasted condition) surmounted the Revenue 1456 l. per annum.

That in Edward IV. his time, that Kingdom was Defended only by the Fraternity of St. George, who were wholly paid out of the Customs there.

That in the latter end of that Kings Reign, the Earl of Kildare did undertake for 600 l. per Annum to keep the whole Kingdom in Peace.

That in 1543. The standing Army was but 525 Horse and Foot, and the whole Charge of the Kingdom but 10500 l. per Annum. The certain Revenue thereof was then 8700 l. per Annum, besides Customs, First Fruits, Tributes, &c. which could not but make up the Revenue, so as to surmount that Charge.

That considering the numerous and frequent Supplies of Men, Provisions, and Money that our Kings from time to time received from Ireland against France, Scotland and Wales, it is not easie to determine whether Ireland received — much more from England, than England received from the English Planters of Ireland.

That

That for a great part of the first 400 Years, the Revenues were great ; that our *English* Land-Lords Yearly drew thence, for the Rents of the vast Scopes of Land that they were seized of in that Kingdom.

That *Ireland* being almost from the first Conquest to the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign in a State of War, was wholly supplied with all Commodities in a way of Trade from *England*, whereby this Kingdom received considerable advantages.

That if we Allow that the Government of *England* hath been at Ten Thousand Pounds per Annum Charge for the Support of *Ireland*, from the first Conquest thereof unto the time we are upon, ( which no way appears probable ) yet if the Kingdom did Annually give Fifty or one Hundred Thousand Pounds by Trade and Rent of Lands, ( which our great Men were Seized of in *Ireland* ; ) *England* was however a considerable Gainer by *Ireland*.

If upon the whole matter it doth not plainly appear, that *England* hath been profited by *Ireland*, yet I conceive it is evident that the Conquest of that Kingdom hath not cost *England* the Tenth part of what most imagine, and that through this whole Tract of time, the *English* there have readily, powerfully, and nobly assisted *England* against all its Enemies.

Here I will conclude my Answer to your first Enquiry; in doing whereof I have Troden in an unbeaten Path, which rendred it the more troublesome and difficult. I have diligently searched, and faithfully set down all the Forces and Treasure that I find mentioned in any of our, or the *Irish* Writers to have been sent into *Ireland* from Anno. Dom 1170. to the Year 1602. which concluded the entire Conquest of that Kingdom, and the Life of the Famous Queen *Elizabeth*.

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*The Second Query is, In what Instances ( if any ) doth it appear, that Ireland is Beneficial or Necessary to the well-being of England ?*

**H**ere, Because Generals prove little, or are liable to Cavils, I will for the clearer Illustration instance only in such particulars shall be undeniable.

I. Consider, that *England* being an Island, our outward strength for Defence against Invasion, for offence of our Enemies, and for security of our Trade, lies in the numbers of our Ships and Seamen. That Trade that employs, also enables the encrease of these, and is necessary to our well being.

That Money that we gain purely for our Ships let to Freight to Merchants of other Countries, is one of the clearest profits to the Kingdom, and as advantageous to the Publick as any other, not only in the fore-mentioned respects, but also for that we part with nothing in Lieu of this Money, but the Labour of our Men, and the Wear and Tear of our Ships; yet hereby at the Charge of others we encrease and employ our Shipping, breed and pay Seamen. Thus the Netherlanders by being the Carriers of Christendom have in a great Measure raised themselves to their present opulence.

Now that I may make it evident, that *Ireland* Contributes to our Strength, Security, the encrease of our Shipping and Seamen, and that we are yearly considerable Gainers in other respects also by that Kingdom; you must know that the People of *Ireland* have but few Ships of their own; That at least two thirds of their Exportations and Importations are made in our Bottoms.

In the Year 1668. I was in that Kingdom, and did see a Computation that was delivered in to the Council of Trade there, by one of the Members thereof, who made it out, that tho' the Exportations of that Kingdom about that time amounted but to 450000 *l. per Annum* that yet most, or all their Commodities being Gross or Bulkey, they paid for Freight to Ships of *England* for the Exportation of them, and for Importing the Proceed thereof, 130000 *l. per Annum*, which seemed incredible to the other Members of that Society. Yet being strictly examined, it was found to be near 10000 *l.* short of what our Seamen received yearly thence.

But this Scale of Trade between this and that Kingdom, having suffered a considerable alteration by our Folly in Prohibiting their Cattle, and forcing them to carry several of their Commodities to Foreign Markets, and thence to supply themselves with many things that till then they wholly derived from us, whereby they have encreased their Foreign Trade and Shipping, (yet so as that there is not Ten Ships belonging to *Dublin* their Metropolis)

I will now present you with a small Scheme of the Trade between *England* and *Ireland* as it stood about 1685. before the less-considering, scented the Game that was playing for 29 Years past for introducing Popery and Arbitrary Government, and drew in their Stocks from Trade. There was about that time and before constantly employed to and from *Ireland*, and usually Fraighted by the Merchants of *Ireland* these Ships following, which belong to *England*.

Ships belonging to *London, Plimouth, Apfom, or Exeter and Cornwall*, and the Ports between these } 15  
Ships

Ships belonging to <i>Barnstable, Biddiford, Combe, Minhead, Bridgwater,</i>	} 70
<i>Bristol, Forrest of Dean and the Ports between</i>	
Ships belonging to <i>Swansey, Milford, all South and North-Wales</i>	20
Ships belonging to <i>Chester, Dampool, Nesson and Mossion</i>	30
Ships belonging to <i>Liverpool-water</i> 150 of which employed in the	} 110
Trade of <i>Ireland</i>	
All the Coast of <i>Lancashire</i>	and <i>Carlisle</i> 5
Ships belonging to <i>White-Haven and Workington</i>	60

310

That you may the better comprehend the benefit we Annually receive by this Article of the *Irish Trade*, I will set before you how these Ships are usually employed in, and by the Trade of *Ireland*; and will set down but one Voyage in a Year, for such as they send to *America, Spain and France*, tho' to the two latter they frequently make two Voyages in a Year.

20 Sail employed yearly to <i>America</i> , one with another of 60	} 6000 l.
Tuns, besides the Ships Store, at 5 l. per Tun, out and home	
is 300 l. per Ship	
20 Sail yearly to <i>Spain</i> of 60 Tuns, at 3 l. per Tun, out and home	} 3600
180 per Ship.	
20 Sail yearly to <i>France</i> , of 60 Tuns at 2 l. per Tun, out and home	} 2400
120 l. per Ship.	

12000 l.

70 Sail of 50 Tuns each in the home Trade, out and home Passengers, these make 20 s. per Tun 50 l. per Voyage, these frequently make 8 Voyages in a Year, but I reckon but 6 that is 300 l. per Ship. — 21000 l.  
 180 Sail are yearly employed in the Coal-Trade between *England* and *Ireland*, and that the Computation of this Article may be beyond contradiction, I will keep to an Estimate given in to the King and Council in June last, by the *White-Haven* and *Workington* Men, viz. That they have 60 Ships continually employed in the Coal-Trade to *Ireland*, from 70 to 150 Tuns, (but I reckon them at 80 Tuns one with another,) which for one Turn is 4800 Tuns, and for Eight Turns in a Year, is 38400 Tuns at 12 s. 6 d. per Tun is 24000 l.

They Alledge that they pay *Colliers, Carters, Porters, Carpenters, Rope-makers, Smiths, Seamen, &c.* per Annum — 7443 l. -- 1 -- 8.

And I allow they pay otherways, — 2556 -- 18 -- 4.

Both which is 10000 l. which deducted from 24000 l. they receive 14000 l. per Annum Freight for their 60 Sail, and reckoning proportionally for

120 Sail more, employed in the same Trade from other parts of *England* and *Wales*, it makes 28000 *l.* and for the whole 42000 *l.* *Sterling* paid yearly by *Ireland* for Freight of the Coals. They take off, besides 30000 *l.* for the before mentioned particulars. Here you see we Gain 75000 *l.* yearly from *Ireland* by our Shipping; and it's evident, that whatever Trade constantly employs them, tends to their encrease, and the encrease of our Seamen.

II. That Trade that Annually takes off a good proportion of our natural Products, Manufactures, and of the Foreign Commodities that we Import (for which we can have no Sale, or Vend elsewhere.) is necessary for keeping up the Rents of our Lands, enriching our Husbandmen, employing our Manufacturers at home, and our Shipping and Seamen abroad.

I have in the former instance shewed you that *Ireland* takes off above 100000 Tuns of our Coals yearly: And if our Custom-House Books be examined, it will be found, that that Kingdom hath taken off yearly 240000 Bushels of our Salt 3541 *l.* of our Hops, 120 Tuns of Cider, 30 Ships Loading of our Apples, 3000 Tuns of Iron-Oare and considerable quantities of Tin, Lead, Saffron, &c. These are part of those I call our natural Products, which are yearly spent in *Ireland*, which enable the payment and keeping up of our Rents.

That Kingdom likewise takes off yearly a good proportion of our Manufactures, as Fustians, Haberdashery, Sadlers ware, Pinns, Needles, Knives, Gloves, Fanns, Cutlers ware, Belts, Laces, Stockings, Fine-Cloath, Stuffs, Iron-ware, Brass, Pewter, Glass, Earthen and Wooden-ware, Books, Castors. Hereby our Manufacturers are kept in work, and our Trades-Men that sell these to the *Irish* Merchants enriched. Besides all which, *Ireland* yearly takes from us considerable quantities of the Goods which we Import from other Countries: As Oyls, Grocery, Druggistery, Raw-Silk, Cotton-Wool and Yarn, Dying Stuffs, Paper, Whalebone, Train-Oyl, Hollands, Ozenbrigs, and Hamburg-Linnen, Callicoos, Spices. By this Trade our Ships and Seamen (for so much) are employed, and our Merchants enriched.

In these respects *Ireland* is not only useful, but necessary to *England*, for were there no such place (as some foolishly wish) we could have no Employment for the Ships lately used in that Trade. For our Merchants and Mariners being Numerous, Wealthy, Knowing and Studious of their own profit, do supply all known Markets, with as much of our natural Products, Manufactures, and Imported Commodities, as they will take off at any reasonable profit; for we want not hands, nor stock in Trade, but Trade to apply them to with any moderate advantage.

Every

Every days experience, or a walk in *Blackwell-Hall, Exeter, Norwich Leeds, Wakefield, &c.* Markets, would make it good beyond contradiction, that the hands at present employed in our Natural Products and Manufactures, do as Trade now stands, more than sufficiently supply our home Consumption, and Forreign Trade; and that, if more of these were raised in quantity, it would by glutting all Markets, rather prejudice than enlarge our Trade; and were there no such place as *Ireland*, or were it cut off from its dependance on *England*, and supplied from elsewhere, we could no where Vend the Commodities that Kingdom yearly takes off.

And a little Voyage from *London-Bridge to Graves-End*, (even in times of open Trade) may satisfy the doubtful, if not convince the incredulous, that we have more Ships than all our share of the Trade of the World does constantly employ, and a view of the Ships (formerly employed in the *Irish-Trade*.) which now lie by the Walls at the Ports before named, since the Trade between us and *Ireland* hath been shut up, and which may be had at Freight, at little more than half Freight; do shew, that neither our Merchants, nor Seamen, know how otherwise to employ them.

III. That Trade that supplies us with Materials for our Manufactures, (and thereby employment for our People) especially such as we cannot have, or not so Cheap from other Parts, is necessary to our well-being. In the former instance I shewed you, that *Ireland* takes off a good proportion of our superfluities: In this you'll see that in Lieu of part of them, it supplies us with useful and necessary Materials for our Manufactures, and that Cheaper than we can have them from elsewhere. We do some Years receive 6000 *l.* Weight of Linnen-Yarn for Warps for our Fustians, to make into Course-Linnen, Thred-Buttons, Tapes, Ickles, &c. 137300 Cony-Skins for Hatts, 1200 Dozen of Calf-Skins, 40000 Raw and Dressed Hides, 373600 Goat, Sheep and Lamb-Skins, and Pelts for Glovers, and many other uses; Tallow, 38000 *l.* Weight, &c. All which serve for many uses, both Domestick and Forreign. Some Years we received from *Ireland* 210000, some Years 254000 great Stones of Wool, at 18 Pound to the Stone, which (as was made out to the last Parliament, by a West Country Member of the House of Commons,) employs 180000 of our Wool-Dressers, Combers, Carders, Spinners, Weavers, Dyers, Fullers, Dressers, Shears-men, Tuckers, Knitters, Calenders, Pressers. And whereas it may be thought that the Wools of *England* would yield a better Rate, were none Imported from *Ireland*; 'tis certain that the Pasture Ground in *England* could not supply the quantity brought in from *Ireland*: And were the quantity less than now is, work would be wanting for the Poor; or were Wool dearer, the Price of our Manufactures

nufactures would be raised, and we should thereby be in danger of losing our Forreign Markets for them.

IV. That Trade that furnishes us with Commodities for Forreign Markets, which we cannot have elsewhere, is in some sort necessary for us, both for employing our Stock, our Ships and our Sea-men. The chief way whereby the *Dutch* greatly enlarge their Trade, and augment their Wealth, is by buying up the Commodities of other Countries, and carrying them in their own Ships to proper Markets. *Ireland* furnisheth us with several Advantages of this kind; for our Merchants have had shipped off thence for their own Account in one year, 800 Tuns of Salmon, 700 Tuns of Pilchards, 12000 Barrels of Herrings, 120 Tuns of Eels, 900000 Hake-fish, 1040000 of Barrel, Hogs-head and Pipe Staves, 3600 quarters of Rape-seed, 300000 yards of coarse narrow-bundle Wollen-cloth, 38000 *l.* weight of Butter, 1000 *l.* weight of Cheese, 43000 raw Hides, 800 douzen of Calf-Skins, 25000 Barrels of Beef, 1000 Barrels of Pork, besides Leather, Caddows, Bacon, Corn, and several other Commodities, few of which, if any, could be supplied them from any other part of the World, or at least not so cheap, or so conveniently as from *Ireland*; for our Ships in their way to forreign Markets frequently touch, or call in *Ireland* for some of these Commodities to compleat the Cargoes of other Goods they carry hence, which is of much greater advantage to our Trade than is apprehended at first view.

V. We are gainers by *Ireland*, in that they take our Money and pay us Interest for it; Suppose we have but 40000 *l.* in Money at Interest in *Ireland*, (Interest there being 10 per Cent.) it yields us 4000 *l.* per Annum, continued there ten years, we have drawn thence 40000 *l.* for Interest, and at last we receive our entire Principal also. But considering that *Ireland* takes off more of our Commodities yearly than we do of theirs, they are obliged to send us Money, and we having the advantage of the Exchange, we receive in *Ireland* 106 *l.* or 108 *l.* for every hundred Pounds we part with in *England*: So that at 6 per Cent. for exchange, we part but with 37600 *l.* and yet receive 4000 *l.* per Annum Interest thence.

Of the same Nature and Advantage is the Rent that our Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants yearly receive for their Lands in *Ireland*, which are yearly transmitted thence hither. Instances of this kind are too many to be enumerated. I will set before you some considerable Instances of Profit that we receive from *Ireland*, and which that Kingdom particularly yields us in three Schedules.

First,

First, by Rent of Lands in *Ireland*, belonging to Persons that wholly or for the most part live in *England*, and are therefore frequently transmitted hither.

	<i>per Ann.</i>		<i>per Ann.</i>
Rents of the Lands possessed by the Duke of York the late K.	7000 l.	Earl Strafford	1800 l.
City of London, and the 12 Companies	6000 l.	Darcy of Platon	700 l.
<i>Erasmus Smith</i>	2400 l.	D. Albemarl	1500 l.
Ald. John Smith deceased	400 l.	Lord Conway	2000 l.
Sir Charles Lloyd	0800 l.	D. Buckingham	2500 l.
Sir Wil. Barker, Brewen and others	2500 l.	Sir Wandesford	1200 l.
<i>Maurice Thomson</i>	400 l.	Mr. Pugh	250 l.
Several Adventurers	5000 l.	D. Ormond	17000 l.
Sir Will. Temples Estate and Office	1400 l.	Lord Ranelagh and Lady Dowager	3000 l.
Heirs of Earl of Essex	1200 l.	Sir James Shane	500 l.
Sir Will. Courtney	2000 l.	Lord Lisburne	2000 l.
Lord Fitz-Harding	1000 l.	Earl Thomond	3500 l.
Lord Berkely	800 l.	Sir Edward Scot	300 l.
Lord Arlington, &c.	2000 l.	Earl Cork	14000 l.
Earl Anglesey	4000 l.	Earl Londonderry	1000 l.
		Earl of Kildare	3500 l.
			<hr/>
			54750 l.
			<hr/>
			36900 l.
			<hr/>
			91650 l.

The second List of Persons resident in *England*, that did receive Pen-  
sions out of the Revenue in *Ireland* in 1685. and since.

	<i>per Ann.</i>		<i>per Ann.</i>
Lord Lisburn	300 l.	Tho. Sheridan	500 l.
Earl Sunderland	5000 l.	Cha. Laburn	100 l.
Lady Fr. Keightly	400 l.	Capt. Beversham	117 l.
Countess of Portland	500 l.	Mrs. Knight	200 l.
Mrs. Hubblehorn	100 l.	Mrs. Cusels	200 l.
Earl of Rochester	1600 l.		<hr/>
Earl Dorset and Tho. Felton	800 l.		10367 l.
Sir Edward Scot	500 l.		

The third List is of other Advantages that we receive by that Kingdom.

For Students that come thence to the Universities and Inns of Court	<i>per Ann.</i> } 8000 l.
Attendants and Expectants at Court, and Travellers hither	8000 l.
Profit made by the Chief Governours that are sent hence thither, above their Expence	} 6000 l.
We usually have three Commissioners of the Revenue there, that are sent hence at 1000 l. <i>per Annum</i> each, allowing 1000 l. for their Expence	} 2000 l.
Profit by the Post-Office	6000 l.
Interest of 40000 l. that is put out by our People, in <i>Ireland</i>	4000 l.
	<hr/> 34000 l.

The Revenue there in 1686 was in the total	334575 l. 17 s. 6 d.
Allow for Insolvencies	10912 l. 11 s. 3 d.
	<hr/> 323663 l. 6 s. 3 d.

Total of the Establishment, viz. the Charge of that Kingdom	} 243663 l. 6 s. 3 d.
Remains	80000 l.
This overplus was transmittable to <i>England</i> .	

The overplus for <i>Anno</i> 1683. was but 40000 l. Insolvencies allowed as above in <i>Anno</i> 84. and 85. but 60000 l. I will therefore reckon it <i>communibus Annis</i> but	} 40000 l.
Brought from above	34000 l.
	<hr/> 74000 l.

If in the first List the Estate of any man be over valued, 'tis most certain that many of the others are under-valued; and that there are several Persons of less quality not named, whose Estates are in *Ireland*, and that spend them in *England* I have not wilfully erred. I have a List of Particulars in my Hands drawn up by the Council of Trade in *Ireland* in 1672. whereby the Absentees Estates then living in *England*, are valued to 116040 l. *per Annum*. Nor is this a late Advantage that *England* reaps by *Ireland*, for both the Histories and Laws of this and that Kingdom

dom do complain. That from the first Conquest they have been impoverished by their Nobility, and Gentry's, spending their Estates in *England*.

As to the Second List of Pensioners, I do not find that there hath less than 10000 *l. per annum* been paid for many years past to Persons in *England*. Upon the Establishment *Anno* 1676. The Pensions then payable to Persons in *England* was 10500 *l. per annum*. All the Persons mentioned in this List but three, were certainly in *England*, and I am informed the other three were resident here also. However the Summ payable to those three amounts but unto 500 *l.* in all.

As to the Third List, it depends on Estimates, wherein as to the two first Articles, and the fourth, fifth and sixth, I have been careful to keep much within what they really are. As to the third Article 'tis certain that the Annual Profits our Noblemen make of that Government doth much exceed what I have set down.

And as to the last which concerns the Surplusages of the Revenue, whoever consults the Establishment of that Kingdom, will find, that for many years past there has been an Article in it appointing a considerable Summ to be returned Annually into *England*. In 1676. it was but 20000 *l. per annum*.

In *Charles II.* time, there was great Summs raised in that Kingdom, that never came into the Exchequer there; nor as I am informed is there any account how they were disposed. Whether they were distributed to *Irish* Rebels as a reward for cutting Protestants Throats in 1641, or transmitted for *England*, I cannot say, but possibly it may one day prove worth his present Majesties Enquiry, when once that Kingdom tends towards a Settlement, if he thinks good, to have a retrospect so far. Here I am likewise to take notice, that when Forces have been sent from *Ireland* hither, or to *Tangier*, they have constantly been paid thence.

By the particulars of this last instance, it is evident, That we not only reap the common advantages usually made in the course of Trade between one Kingdom and another; but that we also make many other considerable ones by *Ireland*, which that Kingdom peculiarly yields us, and is like yet to do to a greater degree, if we put it into a better condition of Trade and Improvement, which I shall hereafter make out.

The three Lists I have set down before you do shew, That we receive 176017. *l. per annum*, in those particulars, 75000 *l.* that they pay us annually for Freight of our Ships, which makes 245017. enough of it self for ever to Cure us of our Jealousie, That that Kingdom will be prejudicial to us in point of Trade, for these very Out-lets of their

Treasure will infallibly keep them low. And the very encrease of their Trade and Consumption will encrease the Revenue there, and make them liable to send so much more as that shall happen to be, annually to *England*, which helps to support our Charge and Enrich us. For whatsoever the Revenue of *Ireland* amounts to yearly above the Charge of that Kingdom, hath been, and will be transmitted into *England*, and is so much clear profit to the King and this Kingdom.

They are yearly liable to us for more than we receive in Commodity thence; and therefore much of what their Merchants send to *France*, *Spain*, &c. on their own proper Accounts is returned by Exchange, or brought in Forreign Coyns into *England*, so that they seem to subsist by Miracle. However they were in a thriving condition when King *James II.* Ascended the Throne.

Nor is the advantage small to *England*, nor to our Nobility and Gentry, that whilst the elder Brothers, Gentlemen of Estates here, jostle and scuffle for Offices and Preferments, and think all too little for them, That their younger Brothers have *Ireland* to repair unto in Shoals (on every change of Government there, which usually happens every three or four years) where they meet with Offices, Employments and Preferments both of Honour and Profit, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; and frequently arrive at considerable Estates, or a way of Livelihood, whereby they live as plentifully and contentedly (though perhaps not so splendidly) as their Elder Brothers here.

Nor is this advantage limited to the Nobility and Gentry only: For *England* breeds more Mechanicks, than it can maintain. The Surcharge of these, that by their stay here would but impoverish the rest, find Work and Livelihood in *Ireland*. As do many decayed Families that repair thither yearly for Bread, and are received there with great Humanity, and Kindness.

It is Ignorance, Envy, *French* Gold, or Wicked and Treacherous Designs that put Men upon Quarrelling with the Trade, Situation or Improvement of *Ireland* as prejudicial, or inconvenient to *England*, for the fair, spacious, and safe Harbours on the South, and South-West Coast of *Ireland*, furnish our Merchant Ships in their Voyages to *Asia*, *Africa*, and return from *America*, and most part of *Europe*, not only with commodious shelter and refreshments in Storms, Tempests, and other Extremities at Sea, but also retreat, refuge, and security from Pyrates, and Enemies in times of War.

And *Ireland* by its Situation lyes conveniently, not only for Security and Advice for our Merchant Fleets in time of War, but also to intercept and interrupt the Trade of our Enemies.

And

And how lightly soever these advantages may be past over by those that possibly for French-gold, would cut, untwist, or weaken our Threefold Cord, yet they are obvious enough to all considering, unbiassed States-men, Merchants and Navigators.

For let it be considered, That the great currant of Trade runs between *England* and *France*, and that were the Ports of *Ireland* and *France* in one hand, or both in War with us ; That either, much more both, would shut up, and damage, if not ruine our Trade, in that in the latter case, it might be done meerly by Privateers without the Expence of a great and chargeable Fleet, as our Merchants already find in part to their great cost and loss.

Thus you see that *Ireland* is beneficial to *England*, by employing above 300 Sail of Ships constantly, together with the Hands and Trades that depend on them. That it takes off considerable quantities of our natural Products, of our Manufactures, and of our Imported Commodities, which yields Employment to our People, contributes to keep up the Rents of our Lands, and Enrich our Merchants.

That almost all the Commodities we receive thence, are not only useful, but necessary to us, to enable our Manufacturers, and employ multitudes of our People.

That our Forreign Trade is encreased by the Commodities our Merchants Ship off from *Ireland* which they can have no where else, and lyes there conveniently for our Ships to take in in their way to their proper Markets.

That we receive thence yearly above 240000*l.* besides many other advantages.

That many younger Brothers, and supernumerary Artizans, and Families that fall to decay, and that cannot subsist here, are received and entertained with kindness in *Ireland*, where they grow Rich, or at least Subsist.

That the Situation of that Kingdom is so far from being prejudicial to *England*, That it is commodious for the shelter, security and enlargement of our Trade.

That were there no such place, we should want Employment for at least 300000 of our People, and Sale for a good part of our Products and Manufactures.

That should *Ireland* continue in the hands of our Enemies, many of our People would be beggared, most of our Forreign Trade be greatly indangered and obstructed, if not ruined.

So that without further consideration of this matter, I do conclude, That as *Ireland* is the antientest, so it is the most noble, and profitable Acquisition that ever *England* made, though it is but little more than

twenty years since the standing Revenue of that Kingdom did considerably surmount the Charge of it ; yet our Kings ever since King John's time have drawn large Supplies not only of Men, but also of Money, from Ireland. K. James and K. Charles the First received several Sums of Money thence, which with the advantages by Trade, and most of the fore-mentioned particulars have rendred Ireland considerable to England for near 500 years past.

You take notice that our Nobility, Clergy and Gentry have imbibed a Notion, that the abatement of the Rents of Lands in England for twenty six years past have been occasioned by the Improvements of Ireland in that time : And thence you raise your

Third Query, *Whether the Improvement of Ireland was not the cause of the Abatement of Rents of Lands in England ? Or whence else hath it come that Rents of Lands have fallen one Fifth part since the Year 1662.*

**T**O set you right in this matter, it's expedient that I lay before you the true state of that Kingdom and its Trade, whereby you will be able to see the folly of our suspicions, and the difficulty, if not impossibility of receiving prejudice by the Improvement of Ireland, at least in this or the next Age, unless we enforce it by bearing too hard on them, as we did in the business of Cattel, and compel them to better Husbandry at home, and to more Foreign Trade, than they are any way disposed to, or prepar'd for. And then I will shew you whence it is, that our Lands have fallen so much in their Rents.

Ireland is indeed an Island, that for extent of Acres, richness of Soyl, salubrity of Air, numerousness of good Rivers and Havens, variety of Fishings, native Products, and materials fit to be improved into Manufactures, Situation for Trade, &c. comes behind few Islands in the World. Yet it hath hitherto advanced but very little in Trade, Riches or Improvement. Although it hath for 518 years owned Subjection to England, and been in great measure Inhabited by Britains, to that degree, That three fourths of the present Papists there, are of British Extraction, who yet by the influence of that pernicious Religion, are as much disposed to Mischief and Barbarity, as the native Irish ; yet I say the Trade and Improvements thereof are inconsiderable. The Causes whereof I apprehend to be these.

1. That the Popish Religion is retained by about five sixth parts of the Inhabitants; which not only enjoins about 26 Idle or Holy-days more in a year than our Church; by expence on which, the loss of so much time, and of what might be gained therein, the ill habits, and indisposition to labour contracted by such Idleness, and the spongings of their Clergy, by which, and the displeasure of God on that Religion, (being that abomination that causeth desolation) they are kept Poor. *Hereby they are liable yearly to send much Money to Rome to purchase Absolutions, Pardons, &c. and they actually do so; And are also at the Charge of training up their Youth at St. Omers, Doway, Valadolid, and the Jesuites Colledges in France, (which is a real drain to their Treasure) where they are fitted for all Villany, and instructed how to trouble Church and State.* And by Gods just Judgment for permitting that Religion, ( whilst without compulsion it is so easie to reform them; ) they are made Thorns in our sides. These ( I say ) make up one cause of the Poverty of that Kingdom, and will remain so, as long as their Idolatry is connived at.

2. The Second Cause of the Poverty of that Kingdom, is, the paucity of the Inhabitants, the whole number being reckoned to be but 1200000 Souls, whereof 300000 are Children, many by their quality exempt from Labour, and the rest are few enough for Tillage and Husbandry, there being Ten Acres, of Land *English* measure profitable, and five unprofitable in that Kingdom for each Soul in it. Hence it is, that in the Fishing Season, the Merchants of that Kingdom pay 20000*l.* per Annum, to *Scotch* Fisher-men, that go from *Scotland* to take the Herrings and other Fish, that present themselves to their Netts in the *Irish* Harbours. To which may be added, the poor and mean way wherein above three fourths of them live, their Food, (tho' they live the midst of plenty) being mostly Milk and Potatoes; their Cloathing, Course Bandle Cloath and Linnen, both of their own making. A Pot, a Griddle whereon to Bake their Bread, a little Snuff, Salt, and Iron for their Plows, being almost all that they trouble the Merchant or Shop-keeper for. A little Hut, or Cabbin to Lodge in, is all that the generality of them seek, or have Ambition for.

3. A third Cause of their Poverty ( which is also an evidence of it, ) is, the Raw and Unmanufactured condition of the Commodities they Export. The Bulk of their Exportations besides Fish, is Wool, Raw-Hides, Flax, Linnen-Yarn, Cony-Skins, Sheep-Skins, Pelts, Hogs-heads and Barrel Staves, &c. Add hereunto the few Markers that they have for these. They are Prohibited, carrying their Wool and Yarn to any Market but *England*. The *Carribbe* Islands were their best Market for Beef, Pork, and Provisions, which tho' we have left them ~~Free~~ to carry thither, together with Servants and Horses, yet 'tis under such

such hard conditions, that they are in a manner wholly cut off from that Trade. These being so Bulkey, and of so little Value, that it requires two or three Cargoes of them to Lade one Ship back with Plantation Commodities. And we have Prohibited them to carry any of their Manufactures ( which would have help'd in this Case ) thither, except they enter, and pay the Duty for them in *England*, which on some Goods is twice, on others the whole value of the first cost.

4. The small quantity of Coin that is in that Kingdom, and the great disproportion between that and the Payments of the Kingdom. To clear this, I will give you a rough, yet near and probable computation, what the Rents, publick Payments and Trade there doth require, or of what Money is necessary to put that Kingdom barely into a thriving condition.

1. There ought to be in it as much Money, as one Years Rent of near Eight Millions of Acres profitable Land which are in that Kingdom, and the Houses doth amount unto, which suppose to be 1100000 *l*. This is the Land-Lord and Tennants share of the Cash of the Kingdom.

2. It is necessary there be also so much Coin as one Years value of the Natural Products of the Kingdom does amount unto, at least as the Commodities Exported in that time do come to. This is the Merchants and Trades mens share of the Money, and in *Ireland* should be about 500000 *l*.

3. So much Money as one Years Revenue and Taxes does amount unto ; which in *Ireland* is about 300000 *l*. or at least so much as is the Charge of the Kingdom, which including Pensions was 243663 *l*.

4. So much Cash as the Tythes and Church Livings amount unto, which for 27 Bishopricks, Deanries, &c. and about 2200 Parishes ; I'll reckon 200000 *l*. per Annum.

5. It's needful that there be Manufactures in a Kingdom to employ the Indigent, and keep them from Rapin and Violence ; and if so, it's necessary there should be so much Mony for that use as one Years Manufacture doth amount unto ; for which ( because they are so few in kind, and little in quantity ) we'll reckon but 40000 *l*.

These five make up a necessary Capital of two Millions and 83663 *l*. Now did the Cash of the Kingdom equal these requirements, Rents, Taxes and Tythes might be well and duely paid, the Scale of Trade move nimble, and some Manufactures be carried on.

But where the Cash of a Kingdom doth not exceed the first, third, and fourth forementioned uses, such Kingdom is incapacitated to advance in Trade, Shipping, Manufactures or Improvements.

Such

Such Deficiencies of Cash, (according to the Degree of it) occasions cheapness of the Natural product of such Kingdoms, ill payment of Rents, and Debts, and necessarily impose a low value upon Lands both in purchase, and Rent.

The Passant Cash of that Kingdom in its most flourishing condition, was never estimated to be 400000 *l.* but grant it be so much, yet that is less than one Fifth of what is necessary to enable the payment of Rents, Taxes, and Tythes, and to carry on the small Trade of that Kingdom.

Here you may see the Fundamental Cause of the ill payments, Cheapness of Lands, smallness of Trade, and Poverty of that Kingdom, tho' not the only one.

The want of Stock in Trade, is the reason why the most of the products of that Kingdom are Exported by our Merchants, and not by the Merchants of that Kingdom, whereby the profit made on them in Foreign Market accrues to *England*.

5. Another Cause of the Poverty of *Ireland*, is, the high interest that Money is at there, being by Law 10 *per cent*, besides Procuration, and Continuation Money, &c. which the needy pay also. This is a consequent and proof of the former, and that which cuts the Nerves, and Hamstrings of Industry. For as Scarcity of Coin, keeps the Natural Products of a Country at a low rate; so high Interest both hinders their being Manufactured, and advances the price of them when Manufactured, that they cannot be afforded so Cheap at Foreign Markets, as the like Manufactures raised where interest of Money is low.

If here it be Objected, that the Cheapness of Wool (as to the Woolen Manufacture) will countervail the disadvantage of high interest: It's answered, that it will not, for 12 Pound of Wool which costs but two Shillings dearer in *England* than there, will make a piece of Serge that may stand some in 3 *l.* some in 4 *l.* or two pieces of Stuff that may together stand in as much; the price of the Wool being so small a part of the Disburse, will not countervail the high interest on the rest. But besides this, there being but little Manufacture there, and not full work for Tuckers, Dyers, Dressers, Calenders, Hot-Pressers, &c. there, as there is here, the rate of these there, is double to what it is here; and so is their Oyl, Dying Stuffs and Foreign Materials, most of which they carry from *England*, for which at a high value they pay 10 *per cent*. for Customs and Excise on their Importation.

It is the least skilful of our Workmen that go thither, and even the skilful there meet with a great inaptitude in the People to Manufacture, tho' they ought to be content with them for their own use, yet they cannot

cannot perfect them so as to be able to Sell them at any Tolerable price in the same Market with ours.

A pregnant Instance whereof we had a few Years since. Some of our Merchants thought to make considerable advantage by Buying Bayes (like those of *Colchester*) in *Ireland*, and gave Commission for large quantities which were bought up, whereupon there was a great spurt of Trade for that Commodity for a little time. But notwithstanding *Colchester* Bayes is the easiest part of the Woollen Manufacture to be made, imitated and perfected, yet when those made in *Ireland* came to be compared with the true *Colchester* Bayes in *Spain*, they differed so much for the worse, that on a sudden the *Irish* Weavers lost their Trade, and some of them were Ruined by those that were left on their hands, not being able to find a Market for them. Here you also see one reason why they Export most part of their Commodities Raw and Unmanufactured.

6. A sixth Cause of *Ireland's* Poverty, is, the Cheapness of Lands in that Kingdom, and easiness to subsist, with the difficulties that attend Trade there, which makes their Merchants turn Purchasers as soon as they have gotten as much as will maintain their Families; whereby the stock in Trade there is small. For it's observed, that tho' many there gain a Livelihood by Trade, yet very few of the Merchants of that Kingdom have acquired considerable, or competent Estates, for the reasons before mentioned, and because of the many Cloggs that lie on this Trade, which will herein after be observed.

7. Add to these their improvidence, the prodigality and excess of the *English* there, in the Consumption of Foreign wares, mostly superfluities which they might well be without. As fine Cloath, Stuffs, Silks, Laces, Haberdashery, and the rest that I have before enumerated, which they derive wholly from *England*. As also some that they have from other Countries; Above 3000 Tuns of Wine and Brandy have been Imported and Consumed in that Kingdom in one Year. Some Vices and some Vertues seem to adhere to the Soil of most Countries, however the Inhabitants are changed. Thus Luxury and Hospitality to most plentiful Countries; and so to *Ireland*, especially in Housekeeping, wherein they exceed us as far as we do the Frugal *Dutch*, and so are no Savers by the great Plenty of the Country.

8. The uninterested (and frequent change) of the chief Governors who are mostly sent them from *England*, who transmit all that they get above their necessary Expence into *England*.

9. The

9. The frequency of Rebellions in that Kingdom ( which discourages and destroys all Improvements ) occasioned by the folly and negligence of *England*, and the influence the Papists have always had on our Councils ; so that on their reduction they have constantly found such Favour as to be left in Condition to renew their Rebellions at Pleasure.

10. Cause of *Ireland's* Poverty is the Clogs and Restraints on their Trade, partly by *England*, partly by their own Parliament, who, by a perpetual Law, have incapacitated the growth or increase of their Trade, especially so as that it cannot interfere with the Trade of *England*.

The Truth is, both Parliaments have been imposed on, partly by some Commissioners of the Customs here ; who to fix themselves the better in their Seats, and at once to ingratiate themselves at Court, and with the *English* Merchants that deal to the Plantations, pretended they could greatly encrease that branch of the Revenue by imposing hard things on *Ireland*. Partly by two sets of Men who designed the farming of the Customs and Excise in both Kingdoms ; and actually did Farm part of them here. These by their Creatures in that Parliament, wherein were some Pensionaries ; under pretence of advancing Trade, and the Rents of Lands in *England*, &c. gained several Acts to be passed very disadvantageous to *Ireland*, and the Plantations, and of little or no advantage to *England*. Particularly those that bar the People of *Ireland* from carrying any *Asian*, *African*, or *European* Commodities to any of the Plantations, but Provision, Servants and Horses, except they be brought into, entred, and pay Custom in *England*, and be bound to return hither with the proceed likewise.

As the Plantations heavily complain of these Acts, so do the People of *Ireland*. I have seen certain Reasons drawn up in *Ireland* against those Acts, too many and too long to be here inserted. Yet being they fall in with the present Subject, I will mention some of them, viz.

That as *Ireland* is the Antientest and noblest, so is it the most beneficial Acquisition of *England*. Not only by taking off annually great Proportions of the natural and artificial Commodities thereof : But also of *Asian* and *African* Commodities ; ( two thirds of the Importations of *Ireland* being from *England* ) by employing considerable numbers of *English* Ships, by the yearly Rents of the Estates of such as live in *England*, and of Absentees transmitted hither, by the Charge of Students at the Universities and Inns of Court, Income of the Post-Office ; Summs carried away by chief Governours, the surplussage of the Revenue, &c. much of all which is carried into *England* in Cash.

That the Commodities exported from *Ireland* to *England* are all necessary or useful to *England*. But that the Commodities imported thither from *England*, are superfluous, and such as *Ireland* may, or must be

without, ( to the prejudice of *England* ) except there be a relaxation of the present Severities put on that Kingdom.

That *Ireland* being planted with *English*, or those of *English* Extraction, under the same Sovereign, under almost all the same Laws with *England*, in some respect under the same Legislative Power, ( for Laws made in *England*, wherein *Ireland* is named, bind *Ireland*, &c. ) *Ireland* is by these, and several other ways in a manner Incorporated, and become one Body with *England*.

In those Acts they note two things; the ends of them, and the reasons of them

The ends of them are, to keep the Plantations in a firm Dependence on *England*, to appropriate the Trade to, and from them to *England*. And that *England* may be a staple for the Plantation Commodities. They say all these Ends ( save in one little particular of small moment to *England*, but of great Importance to *Ireland* ) are infallibly secured to *England* without these Acts of Restraint, &c.

As to the first, they say, That the Merchants of *Ireland* are generally *English*, or of *English* Extraction; and having many Plantations in these Islands, are part Proprietors; that it cannot be imagined that their Trade and yearly sending many of his Majesties Subjects thither, can weaken, but rather firm their Dependence on *England*, which confessedly in those Acts cannot be supplied from, or not without great Prejudice to *England*. And which else must be supplied with more *Negroes*, to the Hazard, if not Ruin and loss of those Plantations.

As to another End, which is, That *England* may supply those Plantations with all *Asian*, *African*, and *European* Commodities. They say that *Ireland* hath not been accustomed to send any of these, except those of the Growth, or Manufacture of *Ireland* to the Plantations, nor can they send any other if they had full Liberty. For by the Act of Customs in *Ireland*, all Wines, Tobacco, wrought Silks, all Haberdashery Wares, and all sorts of Grocery Wares imported into *Ireland*, pay a great Custom, and draw back no part of that Duty on Exportation. The Law there denying the Merchant that Privilege. By which Clause *England* is secured that the Merchants of *Ireland* cannot supply the Plantations with any Wines, Silks, Haberdashery, or Grocery. And by another Clause in that Act, the Merchants of *Ireland* are rendered incapable to supply the Plantations — or any other part of the World with any Commodities whatsoever, which is once Imported into that Kingdom; The Clause is this; “ That all Foreign Commodities, except Wines and Tobacco, and those of the *English* Plantations imported into *Ireland* by a Denizon from any the Parts or Places beyond the Seas, other than *England* or *Wales*, shall for ever pay one third more in Subsidy over and above the Subsidy payable for the same

“ same according to the Book of Rates, and every Stranger double, &c. It is to be noted, That most Commodities but what *Ireland* constantly derives, or are supplied with from *England*, are valued in the *Irish* book of Rates, at a higher value than the same Commodities are valued in the book of Rates in *England*. So that according to the intrinsic value of the Commodities, all Foreign Goods pay almost 10 per Cent. Custom on Importation into *Ireland*, except what they have from *England*. Therefore, say they, he that reads the Acts for Customs and Excise in *Ireland*, will imagine that the Parliament of *Ireland* was in the Conspiracy to ruin the Trade of that Kingdom. For though it is known, that these and other severe Clauses in those Acts were added in *England* when the Bills were sent into *England* for Approbation; yet they were allowed and passed into Acts by the Parliament of *Ireland*. So that upon the whole, they conceive it clear as the light at Noon-day, That *England* can furnish the Plantations, and all the World, with Asian, African, and European Commodities, 6 if not 8 per Cent. cheaper than 'tis possible for the Merchants of *Ireland* to do it; which is a full security of that Trade to *England*.

As to the third End of those Acts in *England*, that barr their Trade to the Plantations, which is, That *England* may be a Staple to all the World for the Plantation Commodities.

The Merchants of *Ireland* say, this also is infallibly assured to *England*, though Liberty should be allowed them to trade to the Plantations. As to all the World, *Ireland* only excepted; Not only for some of the reasons given under the former head, which take Place likewise here; but also because, although Plantation Commodities (since the additional Duties were added) pay a higher duty on Importation into *England*, than they pay on Importation into *Ireland*. Yet on Exportation out of *Ireland*, they leave much more of the Duty behind, than they do on Exportation from *England*. To instance only in two of them. Ginger on Importation into *Ireland* pays 12 d. per hundred weight Custom, and on Exportation draws back no part of that duty. Ginger exported out of *England* leaves behind.

Tobacco (which is the most considerable of all the Plantation Commodities) Imported into *Ireland*, and again exported thence, leaves in the Kings hands one penny per pound behind; but exported out of *England*, it leaves but a half penny behind, which is the eighth or tenth part of the value of that Commodity. So that *England* will certainly remain a Staple for these Commodities to all the World, except *Ireland*, notwithstanding full Liberty of Trade to the Plantations should be allowed the Merchants of *Ireland*. For that the English Merchants can sell Tobacco 10 or 12 per Cent. at least, and Ginger per Cent. cheaper than the Merchants of *Ireland*, and so likewise all other Plantation Commodities.

The second thing they note in those Acts, that prohibit the Merchants of *Ireland* to trade to the Plantations, but through *England*, &c. is the reason of them, which forms the Equity of them, viz. That the Plantations are Peopled with his Majesties Subjects of *England*, and that *England* hath and doth daily suffer great Prejudice by transporting great numbers to those Plantations for the Peopling of them.

To this the Merchants of *Ireland* say, That in Fact it is most certain, that a full Moiety or near it, of all the working Whites, and many of the Proprietors in all the *Caribbe* Islands, and at least three fourths of the Whites on *Montserrat* are of the People of *Ireland*.

And that if those Plantations had not for many years been supplied with People, cherished and furnished with Victuals at low Rates from *Ireland*, they had perished, or not come to what they are. For had they been necessitated to have paid *English* Rates for Food, they could not have subsisted. So that, (say they) If *Ireland* hath not only in a great measure sustained them, but also are part Proprietors, and have in a great measure Peopled them, and are daily sending People thither, where they are needed; then *Ireland* is within the Reason of those Acts, and (as they conceive) ought not to be debarred Commerce with them, at least for their own Products, and Manufacture, which is all that they desire Liberty for.

They say, it seems to be a great Severity, (being they are of the People of *England*) that they should be treated as Forreigners: And were the Tables turned, and their Brethren of *England* in *Ireland*, the Legislators would think the Laws at least unkind.

*That it seems hard, that an English man, because he goes to inhabit in Ireland, or is sent thither to help to secure that Conquest to England, should therefore lose a great part of the Priviledge of an English man, and be treated as a Forreigner.*

*That these Restraints tend towards untwisting or weakning our threefold Cord, by alienating (if it were possible) the Hearts of the People from England, and seem rather to be designed by France, than to flow from the generous temper of an English Parliament.*

That the same Parliament that Enacted those Laws, were so sensible of the Advantages *England* reaps by *Ireland*, and that it is the Interest of this Kingdom to cherish That, that they comprehended *Ireland* in the Act of Navigation; and allowed the People and Ships thereof the same Priviledges as to the People and Ships of *England*. As an acknowledgment whereof, the Parliament of *Ireland* by their Act of Navigation, granted all the like Priviledges to the People and Ships of *England* as to their own.

That as to the *Virginia* Trade, which brings greatest Advantage to his Majesty, the Merchants of *Ireland* are in a manner wholly cut off from that Trade, except they will drive it to the utter Ruin of the Kingdom. ( which they resolve not to do ) For neither Provision, nor Horses will go off at *Virginia*, nor are Servants to be had to such numbers as to enable that Trade; And the Export of their Manufacture is prohibited. So that if they will drive that Trade, they must do it with Cash, and turn all the little Money they have into Smoak, or be at the excessive charge, double hazard and expence of time, to come unto, and return through *England* with that ( as all other Plantation Commodities ) which hath occasioned frequent loss of Seasons, and of Ships and Cargo's to the loss of the Duty to his Majesty, and Ruin of many Merchants, as they made appear in very many deplorable Instances, too long to be here inserted.

They say, That whereas by an Act of the 25. *Car.* 2. For better securing the Plantation Trade, It is Enacted, That if any Ship or Vessel, which by Law may Trade in any of the Plantations, shall come to take on board any Plantation Commodities, and that Bond shall not be first given, with sufficient Surety to bring them to *England, Wales, or Barwick*, That there shall be paid there on white Sugars 5 s. per Cent. on *Muscovados* 8 d. per Cent. on Tobacco 1 d. per Pound, &c. which afforded some ease to the distressed Merchants of *Ireland* in returning, without being necessitated to come to *England* to enter. Yet that door also hath been shut against *Ireland* by the Artifice of the Arbitrary Commissioners of the Customs in *England*. For contrary to the plain Import of that Law, There was a Ship of *England* which paid that Duty in the Plantations, seized and condemned, under pretence that that Act was only intended for the Trade between Plantation and Plantation, although there is nothing in the Act that gives Countenance to that Construction.

That tho' the Manufactures of *Ireland* are few, and that the most considerable of them is Linnen, which interferes not with the Manufacture of *England*, and that the quantity exported in times of Free Trade to the Plantations was but small, yet the Sustenance of a good number of the most necessitous of their People depended wholly on that little, and that they cannot subsist barely by Air, more than the People of *England*.

That by reason of the easiness to subsist in *Ireland*, the Restraints on Trade, the difficulty, if not impossibility ( now ) to grow rich by Trade, and the cheapness of Land; Merchants are inclined to purchase rather than Trade. That from hence, and the mean way of living of the Natives, paucity of Inhabitants, little demand of the Native Commodities in Forreign Markets, the want of any peeculiar Commodity,

as Tinn is to *England*, &c. It appears there is little reason why the Gentry and Merchants of *England* should be so jealous as they are of the Improvement of *Ireland*, or the growth of its Trade, and less why they should bear so hard on it.

That albeit Liberty is granted to the Merchants of *Ireland*, to send Provisions, Servants and Horses to the Plantations; yet Provisions and Horses being of great stowage, and small value, It requires two Cargoes of them to lade one Ship home. And it is not to be expected that the whole proceed should in the same Voyage be turned into Commodity for return. Hence it becomes absolutely necessary for them to carry some small parcels of the Manufacture of *Ireland* with Provisions, Servants and Horses, to enable a Cargo for the Ships return, or to return half or one third empty, which doubles the Charge of Freight, and Charge on the Commodities returned. Or if they will not do this, they must carry Money to *England* to buy, and take in some Manufacture there, which doubles the hazard and charge, and by loss of time, and contrary Winds occasion loss of Seasons, and often of Ships and Goods. And if any of the Woollen Manufacture of *Ireland* be brought to enter here (in order to send them to the Plantations) the half duty on them in *England*, is in some the whole, in others the half of their first Cost. Which how hard soever, yet they must not (as the case stands) upon any easier terms trade to those parts, tho' part of the Dominions of their natural Prince, and in a great measure peopled and supported by themselves.

*That since the Prohibition of Cattle to England, and as an effect thereof, the Merchants of Ireland have in return for Beef, Tallow, Hides, &c. supplied that Kingdom with many Commodities from Foreign Parts, which before that Prohibition, were brought only from England. And that if the restraint be continued on their Manufactures to the Plantations, They will be necessitated to truck their Manufactures in Spain, Portugal, &c. for Plantation and other Commodities which they used to have from the Plantations, and from England. Where if once their Manufactures be brought into demand, the prejudice to England will be a thousand times greater than can arise from their carrying small quantities of them to the Plantations.*

That the Condition of *Ireland* in the forementioned respects is very deplorable. For notwithstanding the *English* there are liable annually to *England* for those vast Sums before mentioned, yet they are prohibited to send their Sheep, Cattle, Beef, Pork or Butter (the product of their Land) hither. Nor can they send their Manufacture, the only Employment of their People hither, nor to any of the Plantations, no, not so much as Cloaths for their Servants. If they send Servants, they must not send Cloaths with them for one year, nor so much as handsomely

ly to recommend them to a Market; nor Brandy sufficient for their Voyage, lest any should be left at their Arrival. If they send Horses they must not send a new Bridle. If they do in any of these Cases transgress, they are sure to be ruined by the Commanders of the Ships of England that watch that Trade, as many have been. They are by England prohibited to Plant Tobacco to employ their Lands at Home that is laid waste. *All which (say they) renders Ireland and the Merchants thereof fit Objects of his Majesty and the Parliaments Compassion, which they hope will in due time be extended to them, the hard Circumstances in which they are being once understood by their Brethren of England.*

It is some Relief to those that imagine themselves under pressures to be permitted to utter their Complaints. Thus I have (out of their own Mouths) given you part of the anxious reasonings of the Merchants of Ireland, about the Cloggs laid on the Trade of that Kingdom by England. Whereunto I shall add one more, which by reason of the weight and importance of it to England, I am not willing to omit; and it is this.

*That if these Restraints be intended to compel them to take off more Commodities from England, or that they should Trade only with England, They are ill designed: For that according to the State, into which England hath brought the Trade of that Kingdom, (as is before set forth) it is impossible for the people of Ireland to enlarge their Trade with England. For should they buy more of England than they do, and have done for five years past, they are (by these Prohibitions) rendered incapable to pay for it. But on the contrary, England hath (by these Restraints) laid an absolute necessity on Ireland to take off less of the Product and Manufacturies of England than they have formerly taken off. For when they enjoyed liberty to carry their Manufactures, as well as Provisions to the Plantations, they usually brought the Product of them into England, which they Trucked for English Commodities, or therewith paid their Debts here; or if they paid Duty, and Exported them to Holland, &c. they returned the proceed of them into England, and applied it to the uses before-mentioned. But seeing England hath not only shut, but fast locked this Door also against them, they must now (though with much regret) to the prejudice of England, necessarily seek new Trade, and supply themselves for future from Places where they can vend their Native Products, and Manufactures.*

Whatever there is in their former reasonings, I am of Opinion, that this last deserves due consideration, as being of importance to the Trade of England. But here I'll put an end to the exercise of your patience as to that particular.

As to the Cloggs laid on their Trade by their own Parliament, they have fallen in, and been mentioned with those laid on them by England,

land, the most considerable being that Clause in the Act of Customs, which imposeth one third more Subsidy on all Commodities Imported into *Ireland*, except those Imported from *England* or the Plantations. This they say was added to the Bill in *England*. However it was passed by their own Parliament, and is in effect, or was intended by those which added it, as a Prohibition of their Trade with any part of the World, but *England*.

Another discouragement which they alledge, is the exorbitant Fines in the Act for Excise in *Ireland*, as loss of Franchises, Imprisonment, and the Barbarous Corporal Punishments to be inflicted thereby, &c. which are such, That Merchant and Slave in *Ireland* are convertible terms; and had indeed been fitter to have been imposed on Slaves at *Algier* than on Free-born *English* Men.

If the view I have given you of the Trade and Condition of *Ireland* hath not satisfied you, that it is not the Improvement of that Kingdom that hath lessened the Rents of Lands in *England*, I presume the answer to the second part of the Inquiry we are upon will fully do it.

The second part of the Query, is, *What have been the Causes that have occasioned the Rents of Lands to have abated or fallen one fifth part, or considerably since the year 1662?*

This Query supposeth, That Lands generally throughout *England* did in 1662. or thereabout, yield considerably more Rent than now they do. I was desirous to inform my self as to the certainty of it, lest this unhappiness should have been only particular to your self and some few about you, I had the curiosity to inquire in *Surrey* (fifteen Miles from *London*) whether like Abatements had hapned there as in your parts of the Countrey; and I had many Instances given me where several parcels of Land which in 1662. and 1663. yielded 30 *l. per annum*, are now set (upon the Rack-rent) at 22 *l. per annum*, and so proportionably for greater and less quantities of Land: So that being confirmed in the Truth of the matter of Fact, I have therefore the more studiously enquired into the causes thereof.

To resolve this Query to satisfaction, it is necessary that we retrospect the Condition of *England* unto the time when Lands were at a very low and mean value as to the Rents of them; and if we can find what it was that raised them to those high Rents they yielded about 1662. it is probable that that will direct or help us to find the true causes of their Abatement.

To go no further back than the Reign of *Edward III.* we shall find, That *England* had no Manufactures, few Ships, little or no Exportation but a little Leather, besides Wool, and Wool-fells, of which sometimes 30000, at other times 10000 Sacks was Annually Exported (for Custom

Custom of which that King received 25000 *l. per annum.*) *England* neither had nor affected Trade further than in our own Seas, and to the *Netherlands*, or not to any purpose; but lived wholly, or mostly by Tillage, and Pasturage of Cattel. So that being destitute of Manufacture and Trade, Lands yielded less Rent in *England* at that time, than they did in *Ireland* thirty four years ago (which was soon after that Kingdom had been depopulated by the Rebellion of 1641.) when good Land was set at 12 *d. per Acre.*

This is evident by the low Rate of Provisions in *London* in this Reign, where a fat Ox was sold for 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a fat Sheep 6 *d.* five Pidgeons 1 *d.* a Quarter of Wheat 2 *s.* a fat Goose 2 *d.* The products of the Fields being so cheap the Rents of Lands must needs be very low.

*Stow* tells us that in this Kings Reign, a Tax of 5 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* being laid on each Parish in *England.* That 112 *l.* was abated to *Suffolk*, and the like Summ to *Devonshire*, because of the extream Poverty of those Counties: But since they have become the Seat of several Manufactures, the Case is much mended with them.

This Wise and Warlike King being as Masculine in his Councils, as Valiant in Arms, projected at once the enlarging of his Dominions, and the enriching of them. He observed that his *English* Wools were Transported to the *Netherlands*, wrought up there, and part of them returned in Draperies, &c. with vast advantage to the Manufacturers and to those Provinces. And understanding that some of the Corporate Cities and Towns where the Weavers had Seated themselves, had by hard and unkind Impositions and usage, disgusted many of their Brethren that dwelt in Country Villages. The King took the advantage thereof, and by the offer of many large Immunities and Privileges, invited several of them to remove into *England*, where they were sure to Buy Wool Cheap, and Sell Cloth dear. For their further encouragement, the King paid the Charge of their Transportation, gave them Freedom in Corporations, with many peculiar privileges, House-Rent free for some Years, defray'd the Charge of their Families out of his Exchequer, until their Labour brought in a competency for them; and Prohibited the wearing of any Course Foreign Cloth. This had its desired effect, for thereon many of the Clothiers with their dependents removed and settled in *England.* Whereby the Scale of the Trade of the Kingdom did much alter for the better by the 28<sup>th</sup>. Year of that Kings Reign, for by that time Cloth was made in *England*, not only in good measure for home supply, but also some Course sort for Exportation, as appears by the following Ballance of the Trade of that Year Recorded in the Exchequer. By which we may see as the State and finalness of the Trade of the Kingdom, so also the great Parsimony of those times.

*Exportations.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
31651 Sacks and a half of Wool at 6 <i>l.</i> per Sack ———	189909.	—.	—.
3036 Hundred 65 Fells at 2 <i>l.</i> per Hundred of 120 ———	006073.	1.	8.
Custom of both amounts to ———	81624.	1.	1.
14 Last, 17 Dicker and 5 Hides of Leather at 6 <i>l.</i> per Last ———	89.	5.	—.
whereof the Custom amounts to ———	6.	17.	6.
4774 Clothes and a half at 40 <i>l.</i> per Cloth ———	009549.	—.	—.
8061 Pieces and a half of Worsted at 16 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per Piece ———	006717.	18.	4.
The Custom of both amounts to ———	215.	13.	7.

The Summ of the out-carried Commodities in value }  
 and Custom amounteth to ———— } 294184.17.2.

*The Importations into England 28th. Ed. 3.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1832 Clothes at 6 <i>l.</i> per. Cloth ———	10992.	—.	—.
whereof the Custom amounts to ———	91.	12.	—.
397 Quintals $\frac{3}{4}$ of Wax at 40 <i>s.</i> per Quin. ———	795.	10.	—.
whereof the Custom amounts to ———	19.	17.	5.
1829 Tun $\frac{1}{2}$ of Wine at 40 <i>s.</i> per Tun ———	3659.	—.	—.
whereof Custom ———	182.	19.	—.
Linnen-Cloth, Mercery, and Grocery wares, and all } other Merchandize ———— }	22943.	6.	10.
whereof the Custom ———	285.	18.	3.

Summ of the in-brought Commodities in Value and Custom — 38970.3.6.

Summ of the in-plusage of the out-carried above the }  
 in-brought Commodities amounteth to ———— } 255214.13.8.

The bringing in of these few Manufacturers instantly put the Kingdom into a thriving condition ; for although it added but 16266 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* to the Exportations of this year, yet it so far decreased the Importations, as that there was 255214 *l.* 13 *s.* 8 *d.* added to the Stock of the Kingdom.

Thus was the Foundation first laid of the Succeeding Trade, Wealth and Opulence of *England*. Henceforward this Kingdom encreased in Trade, Shipping and Wealth ; Lands yielded better Rents, and the  
 pro-

products of it a better price, for in 1520. the beginning of *Henry VIII's* Reign, a fat Oxe in *London* was commonly sold for 26 s. a fat Wether 3 s. 4 d. which allowing for the different value of the Coin is twice as much in the first, and above three times as much in the last. For Silver and Coin was 20 d. per Ounce in *Edward III's* time, and was advanced to 40 d. per Ounce and no more in 1520.

The second step was the dissolving of *Abbeys and Monasteries*. By this, and the casting off the Popes Supremacy, the power of the Clergy, and their concern in Civil Affairs abated, to the great benefit of the Kingdom. Until this was done, the Drones sucked most of the Honey, and starv'd the industrious Bees. But when those Livings came into Lay-hands, the Rents and Money which before was hoarded up in Coffers came into the Publick Stock of the Kingdom, and circulated. *I am against stripping the truly worthy reverend painful Clergy, I think they deserve good pay and double honour. I would not have the labouring Oxen muzzled, nor the Labourers hire lessened ; Let them preach the Gospel, prosper and live honourably by it.* Yet I am of Opinion they do always best and are most happy where they keep within their own Province. There is more required to accomplish a States man than School and Book-learning; the retired Education of the generality of the Clergy-men begets a temper unfit for Civil Government. *Christ was so far from committing that to his Disciples, that he cautioned or prohibited their intermeddling in it.* Not only the Subjects, but even the greatest Princes in the Land have been shocked and made unhappy by the Pride and Ambition of Popish Prelates, (*Becket* and others.) But now that Yoke, and the Popes were in a great measure cast off to the unspeakable advantage of Prince and people.

In most places where Clergy men share in the Government the people are unhappy, as in *Italy* and other Kingdoms, but where ever they govern Solely, the people are miserable, as in the Popes Dominions If the pregnant Instances hereof given by Mr. *Bethel* ( in his present Interest of *England* stated ) do not convince all Mankind of this Truth, surely the late Improvement of those Instances by Dr. *Burnet* in his five Letters will do it.

The third happy step towards the enriching of this Kingdom, was the *Reformation of Religion*, for this contributes to the enriching a People, not only by the Blessing of God, which hath always attended the National receiving and conscientious practice of the true Religion, but also in that the nature of it is to civilize and moralize Men ; to make them sober and diligent, and so tends to enrich them.

The Protestant Religion as it makes men more diligent, sober and industrious in their Callings than the Popish Religion. so it tends more to the enriching of them, in that it enjoins ( as hath been observed )

fewer Idle days, which expose men to expence, breeds and begets ill habits, and an inaptitude to business and labour, &c. which are the Companions of Superstition and Idolatry.

*Suppose the working people of England to be but four Millions, and that the Labour of each Person be valued but 6 d. per day, their work for one day amounts to one hundred thousand pounds; which for twenty four days that they keep—in a year more than the twenty nine days observed by the Church of England, amounts to Two Millions and four hundred thousand pounds Sterling per Annum, which of it self is sufficient on the one hand to impoverish and on the other to enrich a Kingdom.*

Another advantage we received by entertaining the Christian Religion, and casting off of Popery, was, That the greatest part of that Money which went yearly to Rome for Pardons and Indulgences was saved to the Kingdom; which was no small Summ.

The fourth step towards the enriching of the Kingdom accompanied or immediately followed our breaking off from ( that Mother of Abominations ) the Church of Rome, and was sent us as a Blessing from Heaven for that Separation, *was the Serge, Say, and Stuff Trade, with all our new Draperies, which have vastly contributed to the Wealth of the Kingdom, and raising the Rents of our Lands.*

*Antwerp* had for a long time been, and now was the greatest Seat of Trade in the whole World, and the *Netherlands* of Manufacture: Thence we were supplied with all sorts of new Draperies, and Fabrick of Silks, &c.

Although Trade be the best humour'd Lady in the World, yet she is so great a lover of quiet and repose, and so sensible that she carries her welcome with her where-ever she goes, that she expects to be Courted and Accommodated with Peace, Liberty and Security; where either of the two latter are denied, or taken from her, she frequently removes, and carries Plenty, Wealth and Honour along with her.

*Ignorance is the professed Mother of the Devotion of the Church of Rome, Slavery and Poverty her two Daughters: Covetousness, Cruelty and Ambition inseparable from that Hierarchy.*

The Lords Inquisitors, and Bishops of Spain, observed that Merchants and Manufacturers were not only a Richer, but also a more sober, thinking, knowing sort of people than others, more curious about what they entertain in matters of Religion, than the Debauched part of the Gentry, and common people; nor so much Priest-ridden, nor so easily cheated out of their Souls and Money. They longed to be singring their Wealth; But the distance of the Netherlands from Spain did not permit them singly to strip this sort of People. Therefore these Hamans resolve the Destruction of all that dissented from their Ceremonies and Canons in those Provinces; And rather than fail of their extirpa-  
tion,

tion, the moderate men, though of their own persuasion, must go to Pot. Having gained the Sole Direction of Philip the Second of Spain, they had as it were both Swords put into their Hands; and the World hath seen how they used them. They put those Provinces into such Convulsions as enfeebled the Monarchy of Spain, which from that time may date its Declension. These Right Reverend Fathers appointed Duke D' Alva Governour General of the Netherlands, a Man of a fierce, cruel, bloody inflexible Temper, (a fit Servant for such Masters) yet they thought it too great an Honour for him being a Lay-man, solely to engross so great a Stock of Merit as was to be acquired by the Ruin and Murder of such Multitudes, as were then to be Sacrificed to the Roman Cruelty. To Sanctifie the Villany, the Clergy must share in it. "They therefore appointed fifteen new Bishops to be set up in the Netherlands, who should be free from all Secular Power and Jurisdiction, even in case of Treason.

"That all Commerce, Negotiations, Liberties and Priviledges should be overthrown. That all ( in the Netherlands ) should be reduced to extream Poverty, that thereby that Countrey should be assured to them, and to Spain.

"That no Man of all those Countreys (except of their Faction) should be held worthy to live: And finally all to be rooted out, and all Possessions, Arts and Trades, and all Orders to be taken away, until there should be a new Realm and Nation.

"That none Suspected be Employed ( tho' of the Blood-Royal ) but to be removed and dispatched.

"That no Contracts, Rights, Promises, Oaths, Priviledges and solemn Grants made to the Netherlands, shall be of any Force for the Inhabitants as being guilty of High Treason.

"These things will cause the Subjects to Revolt and move Sedition.

"Thieves and Spoilers of Churches and Images should be hired, and sent among them whose Offences should be imputed to the Rebels.

These were part of the Instructions given by the Holy Fathers to Duke D' Alva and the new Bishops, who acted their parts to purpose in this Tragedy, for on D' Alva's return into Spain, he boasted that he having done the best he could to root out all Heresie, he caused 18000 persons to be put to death in Six years by the ordinary Ministers of Justice, besides numbers that had been cut off by the Souldiers.

It had been happy for these Kingdoms if these Instructions had been confined to those Provinces, and had not in part been copied, and followed here, as well as in the Netherlands. I will not intermeddle with

with the direful effects of these Ecclesiastical Politiques further, than as to the influence they had on the *Netherlands*, which were the greatest Seat of Trade and Manufacture in the whole World.

As soon as the peaceable Merchants and Manufacturers began to be soft and trased between the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts, when once the ingenious industrious Artizans and Traders could no longer quietly enjoy the fruits of their Labours, nor (as much as by connivance) be permitted to serve God according to his own Command and Will, nor yet (though they continued Idolaters) be safe, except they would be active and instrumental in plucking up the Foundations of Liberty and Property, to set up a Tyrannical and Exorbitant power in Church and State, they thought it high time to remove; and this Persecution in the *Netherlands* happening about Anno 1566. and contemporizing with the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in England, and the Liberty given in the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign; very many Manufactures were thereby allured over into England, and settled in several parts of the Kingdom, as London, Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, &c. where both French, Walloons and Dutch had several Priviledges granted them, were allowed Churches, with Liberty to serve God in their own way, according to the Primitive Simplicity.

A great part of them removed into *Holland*, and the other United Provinces, when once they undertook the defence of their just Liberties and Priviledges, and allowed Men to serve God without the imposing of Ceremonies, &c. Others that were of the Popish Religion removed, some into *Italy*, but most into France, and laid the Foundation of the Wealth and Greatness of that Monarchy: For from that time that Kingdom has mightily increased in Manufacturies, but England much more, because we had store of good Wool and Matter for them to work up, of which France was in a manner destitute.

From this time forward all the Cities and Towns in England, where these new Manufacturers seated themselves began to be enlarged, and regulated in their Buildings, and Rents of Houses and Lands advanced. The Prosperity of this sort of People, and the Liberty and Immunities that were granted them, allured many more of them over to us, and as their Servants and Apprentices grow up to be Masters, the new Manufactures spread into several parts of the Kingdom, and where-ever they seated themselves, they furnished multitudes of the poorer sort with Work, and comfortable Subsistence; they grew rich themselves, and enriched their Neighbours, greatly lessened the Importations, and augmented the Exportations of the Kingdom, and added to its Wealth abundantly.

Thus Persecution greatly impoverished the Spanish Netherlands, and gave the first Blow to the greatness of the Spanish Monarchy; and Liberty enriched several

*several parts of Europe, but England especially: The Gospel spread, the Church flourished, and the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom continued on the Encrease, until there sprung up a generation of Men in the Nation very zealous for the observance of Forms and Ceremonies, not so much regarding the necessary Duties of Religion, as Love and Charity, who too much favoured the Spirit of Persecution. In all Ages, and amongst all Parties, those men that have violently, and rigidly been for Imposing particular External Modes and Forms in Religion, have least advanced the Power of it, and run most counter to the Civil Interest of the Kingdom.*

In *Edward* the 6th time, the Worthy Pious Bishops that first departed from *Rome*, differed about the degrees of distance they were to go off from the Mother of Abominations; some of them (upon Political considerations) that the change might be less sensible, and in hopes of alluring the common people, were for retaining the less Gross part of the Ceremonies, and the most plausible passages of their Liturgy, Canons, and the way of ordering Priests and Deacons. Others of the Bishops were for casting off *Rome*, and all her Ceremonies at once, and for returning to the Primitive Simplicity of Worship instituted and practised by Christ and his Apostles, as several Foreign Churches had done with good success. But reason of State (with a good meaning and honest design) prevailed; yet those that were for retaining those Ceremonies, seemed to intend them but for a time, and only until (as they say in the Preface to the Communion against Sinners, &c.) That the Godly Discipline used in the Primitive Church, could be restored. But what these first Reformers retained, or admitted merely by way of Expedience, (judging the things indifferent in their own nature) their Successors some time after Imposed with more rigour and strictness than the observance and practice of necessary Duties; as if they thought the Canon of the Scripture incomplete, and that Christ and his Apostles had not sufficiently directed or instructed the Church how to worship God, and that the Christian Religion was deficient without this supplement of new Institutions.

Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* was the first that began to Impose these about 1583. By doing whereof, he disgusted and disquieted the generality of the Pious Divines and Communicants of the Church of *England* at that time, who disrelished them as unwarrantable, and uncharitable, gave a check to the Trade, and a stop to the Manufacturers who were flocking into the Kingdom from all parts.

To come to the matter in hand; these Impositions, and the Severities afterwards used by *A. B. Laud*, put the Church into terrible Convulsions, and the State into a Bloody Civil War, expelled multitudes of our sober wealthy people.

people, some to New-England, some to Germany, some to Holland, many chose rather to live in desolate howling Wildernesses; others in strange Lands, among people whose Languages they understood not, with Liberty to serve God, than to live in England their Native Country, and be exposed to hardships at home, and to be fliced and flayed by a set of———Tormentors. Nor was this all, but besides, many of our industrious Manufacturers were driven into Germany, Holland, and other of the United Provinces, insomuch that (as was evidenced to the Parliament in 1643.) The Clothiers, who (for Liberty of Conscience, removed hence, and) settled in Holland, made there in one year 36000 pieces of Broad-cloth, to the unspeakable loss of this Kingdom; for hereupon Trade greatly decayed, and the Rents of Houses and Lands abated sensibly.

And that I may help you a little to estimate the Advantage the Kingdom reaps by these Manufacturers, and the great Damage sustained by their Expulsion; I will give one Instance of the vast numbers of people they employ, which are mostly of the poorer sort, and another of what the Kingdom lost by having those 36000 pieces of Broad-Cloth made beyond Sea.

As to the numbers of people employed in our Manufactures; take the Instance from *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, who being informed, (that in a time of Dearth and Scarcity) several Clothiers in *Gloucestershire* were fallen to decay, whereby the Poor wanted Work; she required their condition to be reported to her; and I find part of the return to the effect following; viz. That in the six Hundreds of *Berkly, Cumbalash, Thornbury, Longtree, Whitstone* and *Bislely*, there inhabited 40 Clothiers, who employed 338 Looms; to each of which Looms did pertain eight persons; viz. Weavers, Winders, Dyers, Dressers, Warpers, &c. which was (to the whole) 2704, besides 4500 Spinners; so that by the decay of these 40 Clothiers, 7204 persons in that small Circuit were left without Work and Sustenance.

As to the Instance which respects our Profit, you must know, that particularly in White Clothes, all that we make of them above the cost of the Wooll and Oyl, is raised upon the Labour of our People, and is clear Profit to the Kingdom. As suppose the Wooll and Oyl for one piece of Cloth cost 3*l.* and that the Cloth yields 13*l.* then 10*l.* is raised by the Labour and Workmanship of the Manufacturers, &c. The Wooll of some Cloths cost much more (but then the Cloth will yield a better price, &c.) But I pitch upon that price as a mean Rate: According to which value, this Kingdom lost 360 thousand pounds sterling, which it had gained if those Cloths had been made in it, and sold hence. And about 13000 of our People were thereby deprived of the Work and Wages that the making those Cloths would have furnished them with. In

In this single Instance you see the Kingdom lost 360000 *l. per annum* in the old Drapery, and the loss could not be less than double so much in the new Drapery, &c. and all this for those Trumperies; a mighty loss indeed to the Kingdom! Yet, had the Church gained thereby, there had been some pretence for retaining and imposing them; but instead of promoting the Edification, Peace, or Unity thereof, they have served only to rend and divide it.

The fifth step towards the advance of the Rents of Lands, was the Liberty of Conscience granted by the Long, or Rump Parliament, and Oliver from 1642. to 1660. or 62. during which time all Prosecutions for non-observance of uninstituted Ceremonies, &c. were suspended.

Indeed, never was there a more pregnant Instance of the Benefits which Liberty of Conscience, and Encouragements to Manufacturers brings to a Kingdom, than what that short space of time furnished. For notwithstanding Civil-Wars in the bowels of these three Kingdoms for a great part of that time, whereby multitudes of the Inhabitants were cut off; yet Trade, and the Rent of Lands encreased, and advanced even miraculously.

I deny not but the removal, and taking off of all Monopolies, the bringing down Interest of Money to 6 *l. per Cent.* and the Act of Navigation, (which were also Acts of that Parliament) were concurrent causes of the encrease of the Wealth of the Kingdom. The first took off those Restraints that were on Trade. The second enabled the greater Improvements of our Land, and making our Manufactures cheaper than before. And the last encouraged and encreased our Shipping and Sea-men, and saved great Sums of Money to the Kingdom, which the Hollanders were accustomed annually to carry from England for their Ships let us to freight. Yet the chief cause hereof was the Liberty given to People to serve God according to his own Word. For this Liberty invited multitudes to return with their Families and Stocks from New-England, Germany, Holland, &c. but especially many of our Manufacturers, (who had been driven away by Arch-Bishop Laud's Persecution, &c.) tho too many of them (by Purchases and Marriages that they had made in those places) were detained to the unspeakable damage of the Kingdom. However, the return of the rest greatly encreased the Home-consumption of Provisions, our Manufactures and Trade, and employed our Poor, which together advanced Lands in Purchase and Rent to that great height they were at about 1660, and 1662.

Thus I have faithfully set down the means and steps by which England arrived at that high pitch of Wealth and Strength, which rendered her the Terror and Envy of all Europe. And having done that, it will be easie to answer the Query, to assign the true Causes of its Declension, and the abatements of Rents, &c. since 1662. The most material I conceive to be these that follow; viz.

*The principal Cause thereof, was that violent Storm of Persecution, raised against the Non-compliers with Ceremonies, Liturgies, &c. pressing the Act of Uniformity, whereby ten thousand persons since 1662. perished in Gaols, and by hard and cruel usage, and very many thousand Families, (mostly sober, useful, industrious People) have been ruined and exposed to beggary, or compelled to seek that Liberty in Foreign Countries, which was denied them in their own.*

How the Dissenters have been used, the World hath seen, but if the doubtful, curious, or inquisitive desire to be acquainted with some of the particular methods by which so great a number were ruined; they may find a Specimen of them given by a good Samaritan, in the fourth part of the Conformists Plea for the Nonconformist, beginning at page 29.

*It hath been one of the great infelicities of the Kingdom during the three last Reigns, that a sort of Men (few of whom have had Title to one foot of Land of Inheritance) have assumed to themselves a power to dispose Liberty and Property, our Lives and Fortunes at pleasure. They have indeed been very liberal of them to those Kings, in whom they Vested the whole, in hopes they would bountifully reward so good Benefactors, either with high ——— Preferments, or large Portions out of that great Stock. But as ill-gotten Goods seldom continue long with the Possessors, neither did these with those to whom they were given; for as the great Lord Falkland observed to Charles I. That never did Prince lose more by this Pulpit-Law than he. Yet all this exorbitant Power which that sort of Men cloth Princes withal, is only that it may be employed for their use; and that they themselves may have such shares as may enable them to domineer, to fleece and slay, all that dissent from them.*

I have, as I presume, clearly demonstrated, That it was our Manufacturers chiefly that raised the Kingdom to its late opulence and greatness, and that our Manufacturers were at first attracted hither by Liberties, Immunities and Priviledges. *Things being best increased, nourished, and preserved by the means by which they are gotten, obtained, or gained; we ought to have continued all those unto that sort of People. But that part of the Imposing Men I have been speaking of, have been no less pernicious to the Kingdom, than to those Kings whom they seemed to Idolize by their flattery: For they have by falling on our Manufacturers damnified the Kingdom to a greater degree than I am capable of estimating. After-Ages may possibly be better able to do it: Yet to give you a little light into this matter, consider, that one pound of Wooll sold for fourteen pence, and one pound of Iron sold at first hand for two pence: If they be thus Exported, the Kingdom gains little by them: But if the former be wrought up (as it may be) into three pair of fine Womens Hosiery worth 18 shillings; and the latter into fine Scissars, Locks, &c. they may yield three*

or four shillings (according to the Workmanship) and that they be Exported the Kingdom, gains fifteen times the first value in the first, and twenty four times the value in the latter, besides the much greater Duty to the King, Employment of our People, our Ships and Sea-men, &c.

By what hath been said, you may see the usefulness of this sort of People to the Kingdom: Now if by a modest computation we reckon that only 40000 of the fore-mentioned number that were driven out of this Kingdom, were Manufacturers, it requires greater skill in Manufactures, and knowledge in Arithmetick than I am Master of, accurately to assign the vast damage the Kingdom hath annually sustained thereby. However, the Effects are visible in the Abatements of Trade and Rents; The losing of our Trade to other Countries, who have thereby gained upon us in those Manufactures whereon we mostly value our selves, and which were in a manner (until these Persecutions began) peculiar unto us. And all this only to support and please a Party, and keep up the use of two or three unnecessary Ceremonies.

The lesser concurrent Causes of the Abatement of Rents since 1662. were the two Dutch Wars (which were fomented by the Papists, Abetted and carried on by the Tantiy Party:) and the Destruction made by the Burning of London, which Ruined many Merchants, Tradefmen, and Manufacturers: Yet had not the same Party by Stifling the Discovery thereof discouraged, and by Persecution, driven great numbers of them out of the Kingdom, we had easily (by our Manufactures and Trade,) retrieved those disadvantages. For the Woollen Manufactures being then in a manner peculiar to Us; Forreign Countries must have been Supply'd from hence, had not our Merchants, Tradefmen and Manufacturers been deny'd the Liberty and encouragements at home, which they were Courted to, and did receive abroad. Hereby we laid the Foundation of the decay of Trade, and Abatement of Rents, by making other Countries sharers with us in our most profitable Trades. Thus I have set down as the means whereby Rents were advanced to what they were about 1662. So likewise the unhappy Causes of their Abatement since; which concludes my Answer to the third Query.

The Fourth Query is, *Whether the State of Trade through Europe considered as it stood before the present War, it be the true Interest of England, that Rents should generally advance above what they were about 1662. and by what Methods may they be advanced?*

HAD we duly improved the advantages we had of Trade and Manufacture about 1662. and carefully kept our Manufacturers, Skill, and People to our selves, it is difficult to say what advancement might have been made of Rents by this time. But now that by our own Folly, the *Netherlands*, some parts of *Germany*, and even *France* it self are become sharers with us in our most profitable Manufactures, not only for their own Supply, (which they were wont to derive from us;) but also to that degree, that they Vie with us in many Forreign Markets; it is high time seriously to consider, what is the true interest of the Nation, both in respect of Trade, Rents, and Manufactures.

In Order hereunto, let it be considered, that the Strength and Security of *England* next under God, consists in its Navy: Its Welfare and Prosperity depends on its Trade, Natural Products and Manufactures. The Strength of its Navy depends on Forreign Trade; and the profitable part of Trade to the Kingdom results solely from our Exportations. It is therefore the true Interest of the Kingdom by all due Methods, carefully to preserve, incourage and augment all these.

Those who get their Livelihood by Trade and Manufactures, are many more than those who live by Cattle, Pasturage, Corn, and Fruits. Our Natural Products, which we Export, are not computed to be above one Fifteenth part of our Exportations; and tho' they that live by these must not be neglected, but encouraged; yet our main care ought to be laid out for our Manufacturers, as those that have raised the Kingdom to its present Wealth and Greatness, which supports it, and makes up the Bulk of our Expectations.

Now the Trade of *England* being mostly carried on by its Manufactures, should the Rents of Land here advance; suppose one fourth part above what they were in 1662. and Lands in *Germany* and *France*, &c. do not rise proportionably, I suppose it would be very prejudicial to the Kingdom in general: For I am not here speaking of what would for a time gratifie the humour of our Nobility, Gentry, or Landed Men, but what would be their, and the Kingdoms true Interest.

If Rent of Land should advance one fourth part, or more, above what they were in 1662. The Fruits and Products of the Land ought to rise in their price proportionably, one fourth above what they then were, or the Farmers would not be able to pay their Rents. And were the Natural Products thus advanced for a continuance, Provisions being  
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so much Dearer ; it would be but reasonable, that the Labour of the Working People should advance also. And were this so, our Manufactures would be Dearer, which in the present State of things ( as hath been observed ) would be pernicious to the Kingdom : For by such advance of Rents, and the Price of our Natural Products, and Manufactures, we should,

First, Lose all our Forreign Markets, for that part of the Natural Products of our Lands which we Annually Export to other Countries, which could in that Case under-sell us.

Secondly, We should for the same Reason lose all Forreign Markets for our Manufacture ; and thereby the means of imployment for our People at home, and of our Ships and Seamen abroad, which would yet be more mischievous to us. The Kingdom affords no Commodity that I call to mind peculiar to us but Tin, nor are we sole Masters of that neither, tho' we have more and better of that Commodity than any Country in *Europe*. Therefore all things considered, it is the Interest of the Kingdom that we raise both our Natural Product and Artificial Commodities and Manufactures so Cheap, as that we may be able to furnish all Forreign Markets with them ( their quality considered ) some small matter Cheaper than any other Country can : For thereby only can we secure Forreign Markets for our Surplusage of both, and imployment for our People.

The *Dutch* and *Venetians*, &c. do in some sort Vie with us at Forreign Markets as to Fine Cloth, and some costly Fabricks of Manufactures, but they are not able so to do in Course Cloths, and Course Manufactures, because of the much higher Prices of Food and Labour among them than us, which with the different Price of Wool there and here, enables us to make great quantities of these Courser Manufactures much Cheaper than it is possible for them to do. But if now that we have cast out so considerable a part of our Manufacturers into other Countries, and that by raising our Rents, Provisions, Wool, Labour and Manufactures should be advanced much in their Price ; we should be in danger of losing a much greater part of our Trade to other Countries than what we have already lost. So great and ticklish is the difficulty of Regaining any part of Trade, or bringing it into it's former Channel when once lost or turned out of it.

If against what hath been said, it be objected, that experience tells us, that our Manufactures are raised Cheapest in Years of Dearth and Scarcity ; I answer that extraordinary accidents do not constitute a standing Rule: That 'tis true in such years, the Poor are constrained to Work Harder and Cheaper than at other times : Yet in those years they are constrained to run in Debt, and often Sell even the very Clothes which

which they Earned in times of Plenty, &c. and did Provisions advance for a continuance, Labour must do so too, or many of the Poor would perish, and the rest be reduced to live on Herbs, wear Wooden Clogs, or Shooes, and like the Peasants of France, look like walking Ghosts, which I hope will never happen in England.

*It is the undoubted Interest of the Kingdom to recal, and allure as many of our Manufacturers home as possibly we can, to set up and encourage new Manufactures for the employing of our People, for the augmenting of our Exportations, and the increase of the Revenue, to improve the opportunity put into our hands, by cherishing the French that are already amongst us, and inviting in as many more as we can get ; They live more hardily, and therefore can work much cheaper than ordinarily our People can. Their labour may be applied and directed to some new Manufactures, or new Fabricks which we have not yet, which we were wont to bring from France ; and which may not interfere with those we have, or with the present labour of our own People. A prudent management of these things would conduce more than a little to the regaining and enlarging of our Trade to the enriching of the Kingdom, and advancing Rents, by encreasing the home Consumption, the lessening our Importations, and augmenting our Exportations.*

*There are several things that may by accident, and for a spurt advance the Rents of Lands : But it is only the lessening our Importations, and the augmenting our Exportations that can keep them up.*

In order to these great Ends, we should remove all those Bars and Discouragements which lye in the way. It's true, the King and Parliament have in their Wisdom by an Act of Indulgence suspended the Execution of those severe and unkind Laws with which Dissenters have been so long plagued, and which have been so prejudicial to the Kingdom ; Yet they are not repealed, but seem to be kept like Rods in pickle ; and the Instruments of our past Miseries, and which procured them, are many of them still in being ; longing, endeavouring, and daily threatening the Repeal of that Act of Indulgence and Suspension. In such a State of things, no man of sense, that is tolerably settled abroad, will be induced by a Liberty that's so precarious to return home ; especially when he observes, that if he do return, and that he hath not stretched his Conscience larger than it was at his going abroad, he must be content to be a Slave in one of the freest Kingdoms in the World, incapacitated to serve God or his Country in any Office Civil or Military ; and like *Issachars* Ass be used only to bear a greater share of the publick burthen and charge, and do a greater part of the publick drudgery than his Neighbours ; but must not be employed in any place either of Honour or Profit, but be like the Silk-worm, permitted to spin out his Bowels for others.

It

It is a scandal to our Nation and Religion, and a thing abhorred by very many sober Christians, That the receiving the Sacrament, the most solemn Ordinance — of our Religion ( in a mode never instituted by Christ, nor practised by his Apostles ) should be made a qualification to the bearing of Office or Arms, selling Ale, or keeping a Victualling-house.

The great end of his Majesties glorious undertaking being to restore Liberty to every of the oppressed Protestants in these Kingdoms, he seems in Interest, as well as Inclination, concerned to take off all these Incapacities from the Dissenters, and legally to put them into as good, or a better Condition than they were in under King *James*, who arbitrarily compelled them to take Offices, &c. upon them, seeing the most criminal and culpable part of the Kingdom have been pardoned, indemnified, and at least rendred capable of bearing Office, &c. There can no good reason be given why so great a part of the Nation that contribute so much to its Prosperity and Welfare, and bear so great a part of the publick charge should stand exempted from the Priviledge of Subjects; unless their greater Enmity to *France*, their firm adherence to his Majesties Interest, to that of the Kingdom and Protestant Religion be made one; and that our Divisions (in favour of *France*) ought to be perpetuated, be made another. Until those Clouds which intercept the benign Rays of Government from shining indifferently upon all Protestant Subjects are removed; the King seems to be only King of a Part, and not of the whole of his Subjects.

As it is the Interest of all the Princes of *Europe* to joyn against *France*; so it is no less the Interest of all the Protestants ( of every Perswasion ) in this Kingdom, to unite for their common defence against that Enemy of Mankind, the *French* King. For if he hath for so long a time withstood or kept the united force of almost all *Europe* at a Bay, what are we to apprehend, if any occurrent should dissolve the Confederacy, and that he should have opportunity to attack us singly in the divided, distracted Condition in which we are? especially considering how great a Party he hath already amongst us.

But his Majesties Interest and Honour falling in so aptly with that of *Europe*, the Safety and Prosperity of the Kingdom, and the Advantage of our Landed men, it will undoubtedly put him and them upon removing these Stones of stumbling, and Rocks of Offence in a Parliamentary way, and that the rather because had not this sort of People in the two last Reigns ( to the Irritation of the Court against them, and the Ruin of many of them ) joyned with the sober part of the Church of England in desisting such Members for Parliament as boldly offered our Religion, Liberties, and Properties, we had in all probability long before this been made Slaves to Popery and Arbitrary Govern-

*Government. And had they not fallen in to do the like in this last Revolution in Electing Members for the late Convention or Parliament, the Crown and Kingdom had in all likelihood been unsettled until this day.*

Thus you see the sure way to advance the Rents of our Lands, depends on the taking off all Restraints. and giving due liberty to Manufacturers, and alluring them Home ; in encouraging and improving those advantages which are in a manner peculiar to us ; in discouraging and clogging those Trades which draw away our Treasure : In keeping a good Correspondence with those Kingdoms and Countreys whence we derive Materials for our Manufactures, and those which take off our Natural Products, Manufactures and Artificial Commodities. All which are things worthy the consideration of the Great and Sage Council of the Kingdom, the Parliament.

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*The Fifth Query. How may the present Rebellion in Ireland, and the Reduction thereof be improved to the future Security, and Increase of the Advantages which we receive by Ireland, and of Their Majesties Revenue ; future Charge thereby to England be avoided, and that Kingdom rendered useful towards bringing down the Power of France ?*

**I**T hath already been demonstrated, That besides the Supplies of Men and Money which *Ireland* Antiently yielded us towards the Conquest of *France*, *Scotland* and *Wales*: That we did Annually (before the present Rebellion) utter considerable quantities of our Natural Products and Manufactures (for which we had no other Markets) into that Kingdom. That we were furnished thence with several necessary Materials for our Manufactures, and Commodities for Forreign Trade, which we could not have elsewhere. That some of their Ports are of great consideration to us ; (the want of which, our Merchants to their great loss have in this War experienced.) That besides the profit which we make by *Ireland* in the ordinary course of Trade, we do receive thence yearly above 200000 *l.* All which Advantages had been much more, had we not (by prohibiting their Cattel, and debarring their Trade to the Plantations interrupted the course of Commerce between the two Kingdoms) compelled them to more Forreign Trade than they were otherways disposed to seek. However you see, that what remains is well worth the securing and improving; and if we be not under Infatuation, and still fond of our Errors, the present Con-  
juncture

junction of Affairs furnisheth us as with the opportunity to rectifie them; so also to secure and improve them; in order to which it will be necessary,

First, *That the Lives, Liberties and Estates of the Protestants in that Kingdom be well secured.* Whilst these remain at uncertainties, both publick and private Affairs will drive on but heavily. It hath been the hard fate of the Protestants of Ireland ( as hath been said ) that the Papists have had such favour in, and influence on our Council in England on the conclusion of every Rebellion, that they have been left in a condition if not wholly to extirpate, yet at pleasure to annoy and ruin the Estates of the Protestants. I wish Their Majesties Councils may be more happy. It is indeed high time to grow wise; dear bought Experience instructeth the weak, much more the Wise. *Two very chargeable Rebellions having hapned within the memory of many yet living, will, if anything, instruct us what measures ought to be taken for preventing Rebellions for the future; for it is not reasonable that every thirty or forty years England should be at the Charge of Reducing Ireland; nor that the Protestants there should be exposed to the Mercy or Barbarity of those who think they Merit Heaven by cutting their Throats.* I am as much against Cruelty and Severity as any Man; but to what end doth God give us Victory over his and our Enemies, if we have not common wisdom to improve it for security from future danger by them?

As the safety of the People is the highest Law, so is it a great Encouragement to Industry. For who will lay out his care and pains for obtaining that which he hath no prospect of enjoying? Until the Lives and Estates of the Protestants of Ireland be put into some good way of future security we can rationally expect neither advantage by them, nor assistance from them.

The People of Ireland have been accurately computed to be about twelve hundred thousand Souls, of which the Papists are one Million, and the Protestants but two hundred thousand ( Women and Children included; ) so that *there being five Papists to one Protestant in that Kingdom, the Protestants must therefore have many advantages put into their hands, and the Papists be laid under several incapacities, or else the Protestants can never be secured, as 130 years sad experience hath verified.* And it must be considered, that now the Irish are fallen in with the French Interest, and lye under the influence of so Potent and Restless a Monarch, they will for this Age be more dangerous and apt to Rebel than ever. Therefore we ought to have, as the more jealous Eye, so also the stricter hand over them.

For which end their Landed Men having by their present Rebellion forfeited their Estates; The whole forfeiture ought to be taken, as well

for reimbursing part of the Charges of their Reduction, as the better to incapacitate them for new Rebellions. This though it lessen not their number in general, yet it will in great measure the Interest and Influence of this Party on the People.

They are seized of above 2800000 Acres of profitable Land, whereof, if 200000 Acres belong to Minors and Innocents there will remain, 300000 Acres, which may be left to His Majesty to gratifie such Officers as have Merited in that Service.

200000 Acres may be applyed to the Reprisal of the poor Protestant Farmers who have been plundered, and ruined by both sides. And

2100000 Acres to be sold to Adventurers at an encouraging price, at six or seven years purchase; near two Millions may be raised to reimburse the charge of the Reduction of that Kingdom, to the ease of *England*, and expediting of Their Majesties Affairs.

Some pretended Well-wishers to Their Majesties Interests, but real Engines for K. *J.* and the *French K.* are at this time endeavouring to hinder the Attainder of the Rebels, and the Selling of their Estates, under pretence that the value of them is inconsiderable, the Right of Innocents, Minors, Protestant Mortgagees, and Creditors being preserved, whereas in truth it is otherways. For,

1. As to Innocents, *that is, such as have all the time of this Rebellion been in England*, they are very few; upon inquiry I do not hear of three, and those of no considerable Estates neither; as for those who have continued in *France*, (that being an Enemies Countrey,) it seems but reasonable that they should be accounted Rebels and Agents for the rest.

2. As to Minors, they are few also; I mean those under Age whose Parents were dead before the commencement of the present Rebellion. *As for the Children of those in Rebellion, their Parents have ruined many thousands of Protestant Minors, and Children, in their Fortunes, and if any Consideration ought to be had of them, it seems Equitable that rather the Children of Rebels than of Loyal Subjects, should be made the Sufferers.*

3. As to Mortgages and Incumbrances on the Papists Estates; where they are between Papist and Papist it seems but Just that the Forfeiture should be taken, for the Rebellion is general: As for those between the Papists and Protestants they are not the sixtieth part of what is pretended, though possibly many Mortgages, and Incumbrances are now in forging, &c. but a course may easily be taken for their detection, if it be not already thought on; but allowing all that can reasonably be taken off upon the foregoing pretences, there may demonstrably 1500000 *l.* be raised by those Forfeitures, if they be rightly managed, and their Majesties Revenue be augmented by the Quit-rent that may be reserved on those Forfeitures. The

The *Irish* Lawyers, ( for whom the People have great veneration ) have in all times by mischievous Constructions of the Laws, disposed the *Irish* to Rebellions; whilst they remain amongst them they will hinder the Settlement of that Kingdom; therefore they ought also to be expelled.

It is likewise necessary that the Souldiers that have taken Arms for King *James* should also be transported to the Plantations, or to *Hungary*, or be Banished: For they have lived so long by Rapine and Plunder, that they can never be reduced to live regularly; if they be permitted to continue in that Kingdom, they will always disturb the tranquillity thereof.

If His Majesty would keep that Kingdom from Rebellion, it is necessary that their Priests, Fryars and Clergy of every sort be banished from amongst them: They have been the chief Incendiaries to Rebellion in all Ages. The Author of the Politicks of *France* suggests to that King the facility of distracting *England* at pleasure, by setting the Popish Clergy upon fomenting Rebellions in *Ireland*. And we must remember, that that Prince seldom neglects any means so obviously serviceable to him. *And whatsoever may be suggested to His Majesty concerning the Innocency of the Secular Clergy; yet it must be allowed, that they are only less mischievous than the Regular, because of less skill to do evil: For according to their ability they have always disquieted that Kingdom: They have the Conduct of the Consciences of that poor blind bigotted People, and are under Oath blindly to obey not only the Pope, but their Diocesans: Had they no disposition to move Rebellions of themselves, yet if they be commanded thereto (as undoubtedly they will be) they must and will readily obey: For the Irish, as all other ignorant People, are Priest-ridden; and their Priests make them believe that they shall be damned if they do not lay hold on every occasion to destroy the Hereticks, and that they shall certainly merit Heaven if they do. In Queen Elizabeth's time, those that had not the opportunity to Rebel, did purchase Pardons, at dear Rates, from Rome, for their not having actually Rebelled. And we have had a pregnant Instance of the Empire these Priests have over the People in the present Rebellion; for notwithstanding Their Majesties have by three gracious Declarations invited that People to submit; yet I hear not of one Gentleman that hath hitherto submitted; and the People generally have chosen rather to quit their Habitations, and wander thorow the Kingdom, than to sit down quietly under Their Majesties gentle Government, with the enjoyment of all their Possessions.*

The Toleration of the Popish Clergy, and their pernicious Religion, as it would be sinful in Their Majesties, so it would be destructive to that Kingdom, whatever the favourers of the *French*, or King

*James's* Interest may suggest to the contrary. For the Toleration or conniving at Idolatry, is a Land-destroying sin. *Ireland* hath found it to be so. Our Church in her Articles and Homilies hath declared the Mass to be the grossest Idolatry : And God, who in Scripture appears so tender of the life of man, that he appointed even casual Homicide to be punished with confinement or banishment until the death of the High Priest, hath nevertheless positively commanded that Idolaters, and even the secret Enticers to it, should be put to death without mercy, and the places defiled thereby to be destroyed. And where Princes do not duly execute his Laws in this case, he usually executes Vengeance on them, and their Posterity. Most of the Kings of *Israel*, and their Posterity, were rooted out for this sin, and the Ten Tribes for it have remained in Captivity and Obscurity for 2400 years. And this sin was one of the chief causes of the Captivity of *Judah*, and the connivance at, or toleration of it hath twice in this Age proved destructive to poor *Ireland*, and pernicious to those Kings that granted it. When King *James* the first granted a Toleration of Popery in *Ireland*, famous Bishop *Usher*, did publickly before the State foretel, that for that sin God would within forty years raise up those Papists to cut the Throats of the Protestants there; and God fulfilled that Prediction in 1641. and that King never prospered in any design or undertaking after that Toleration. And when his Son *Charles I.* would not be warned, but in 1629 renewed that Toleration, ten or twelve of the Bishops and Arch-Bishops of that time had the honesty and courage publickly in the Pulpit to protest against the sinfulness of it, and also under their hands to declare,

“ That the Religion of the Papists is Superstitious and Idolatrous ;  
 “ their Faith and Doctrine erroneous, and heretical ; their Church (in  
 “ respect of both) Apostatical. To give them therefore a Toleration  
 “ of Religion, and to profess their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous  
 “ sin, and is to make our selves accessory, not only to their Supersti-  
 “ tious Idolatries, Heresies ; and in a word, all the Abominations of  
 “ Popery ; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the per-  
 “ dition of the seduced People which perish in the Deluge of the Ca-  
 “ tholick Apostacy, &c. And as it is a great sin, so it is a matter of  
 “ great consequence, &c.

How fatal it proved to him, and also to *Charles II.* and the late King *James*, the World hath seen. Nor will it be less so to any of their Successors, who shall connive at, or tolerate the same. For the same sins and degrees of it, brings like Judgments in every Age. Not only the Law of God, but those of the Land also are against indulging this Religion ; and Interest of State, the safety of the Protestants in *Ireland*, and  
 the

*the quiet of England requires, That all the Roman Clergy, their Landed men concerned in this Rebellion, and that of 1641. together with their Lawyers, should be banished, and not to return on pain of Death.* We may wish for Advantage by that Kingdom, but we cannot rationally expect it, whilst these three Parties, or any of them are permitted to remain there, for they will be fit Tools in the hands of the *French King* to foment Rebellions, to which their joynt and several Interests, (the hope of regaining their Estates, the Church-Livings, and their Practice,) will prompt and dispose them; and nothing less than their Banishment, or Extirpation will devert *France* of the means of distracting us at pleasure, now that they are joyned with that Enemy of Mankind.

As for the rest of the Papists who shall be permitted to abide in that Kingdom; it is but reasonable that they be excluded from living in the Cities, Walled Towns, and Corporations, which are the strengths of the Kingdom. I am well aware that this latter, tho' as considerable as any other means for the security of that Kingdom, will meet with much opposition from many of the Protestants of *Ireland* themselves, who (like too many in *England*) prefer their particular (the Advancement of their Rents in those Towns and Cities) to the Publick Safety, to which their Private Interest ought ever to give way. The Papists are already excluded from Purchasing any of the Houses in any Corporation which were forfeited by the Rebellion in 1641. But this without the other is not sufficient, and indeed there is no other way to deal with them.

If His Majesty imagines that the Possession of their Estates, Liberty, for their Religion, a share in the Civil-Justice will oblige and restrain them from Violence and Rebellion, he will (I fear) in the issue find it otherways; for in 1641. they had their titular Arch-Bishops and Bishops, their Fryaries and Nunneries; their Secular and Regular Clergy; they were Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs of Counties, Members of Parliament, Mayors and Bayliffs of Corporations, &c. They were seized of three fourths of all the Lands there: All the Laws against them were suspended as to their Execution; they had all their Grievances redressed, even to the release of the forfeiture of whole Counties. In a few months after which, they broke out into that horrid and barbarous Rebellion, wherein they Massacred 150000 Protestants in cold Blood without any provocation, besides as many more that perished by Famine and Sword in the prosecution of that Rebellion; which is demonstration to all the World, that these People are not to be retain'd in obedience by Immunities, Priviledges and Kindnesses, nor restrained from Rebellion and Massacres, whilst their Clergy, &c. are permitted to abide amongst them.

If against what hath been proposed, the favourers of the *French* and *Popish* Interest do object, That such Severity toward the *Irish*, will disoblige the *Catholick* Princes of the Confederacy.

I answer ; That the chief end of the Confederacy is to retrench the Power of the *French* King and his Adherents, as Enemies to all the rest of *Europe*. That the Papists in these Kingdoms having above all others contributed to that Kings present Greatness (all the *Irish*, and many of the *English*, and *Scotch* Papists being actually in Rebellion, and in Conjunction with his Forces) Their dependance being on him, and expectations from him ; it is as much the Interest of the Confederates, that they be rooted out or banished, as was the taking of *Mentz* or *Bonne*. That those Princes are very sensible that these are they which have diverted His Majesties Arms from their Assistance the two last Campaigns, and that they will do so for the future, if their Power be not broken. That there cannot therefore be the least danger of disobliging them, by the Banishment or Extirpation of the afore-mentioned Parties; especially being it is of service to them, upon Reasons of State, and is done for the quiet and security of His Majesties Protestant Subjects, &c. and because they are Rebels, Incendiaries, and of Party with *France*, and not because they are Papists.—In a word, *Lenity to the Irish who have been in Arms, is down-right Cruelty to the Protestants of Ireland and their Posterity.*

2. *As Restraints on the Papists are necessary to the quiet of Ireland, and the other ends proposed; so is Freedom and Immunities in Corporations to all Protestants that shall go to inhabit there, with Liberty of Conscience to Protestants of all Perswasions that are there, or that shall go thither to abide.* There being five Papists for every Protestant in that Kingdom, it is the Interest of the latter in point of Security, to add to their number as much as may be. If to the Cheapness of Land there be added Civil and Religious Liberties, they will together probably allure Foreign Protestants to transplant thither.

The Protestants until about 1670. kept the Papists out of Corporations, by tendering them the Oath of Supremacy, when they claimed admittance, but there being a Clause in the Act of Settlement or Explanation, which impowered the Chief Governour and Council in *Ireland* to make Laws or Rules for Regulation of Corporations, and that the Rules to made should be of the same force as if they had been enacted by Parliament, &c. under colour thereof some well-wishers to Popery and Arbitrary Government, framed certain Rules and Orders which *Charles II.* caused the Lord Lieutenant and Council to pass into an Act of Council, and to enjoin them on all the Corporations of that Kingdom, &c. one of which Rules requires all Officers of Corporations

to take the short Corporation Oath lately used in *England*, which seemed to have been calculated for setting up Arbitrary Government, (for imposing of which in *Ireland*, there was not until then any colour of Law;) thereby all Protestants who were not willing to for-swear that Self-defence which the Law of Nature, and those of the Land allows them, were turned out of Office; nor was that all, but by another Clause in those Rules the Chief Governour is impowered from time to time to dispense with such as were not willing to take the Oath of Supremacy.—Hereupon whole shoals of Papists were admitted into the Corporations and Fraternities of that Kingdom, and qualified for Offices, and Chusing Members of Parliament.—It will therefore be needful that the Corporations of that Kingdom be restored to the condition they were in in 1668. and that those Rules be vacuated, or declared to be void, as those who think that the Legislative Power cannot be transferred, conceive them to be.

I am told, that to hinder many Protestants from returning, for discouraging Forreigners and others from going to inhabit, the better to divide those already in *Ireland*, and to prevent the Improvement of it; there are some of K. J. his Creatures (who might be named, and who pretend to be of another figure, and to be well known in the Affairs of that Kingdom) that are now using their utmost endeavours to have the Sacramental Test imposed on the People of that Kingdom; under pretence that it will keep the Papists out of Office, &c. though that be no part of their design, but to incumber His Majesties Affairs, hinder the Sale of the Rebels Estates, or render them of little value: To alienate (if possible) the Hearts of that people from Their Majesties, by causing His Majesty (contrary to the import of his Declaration) to put them into a worse condition, than they were in under a Popish King. *These Men well know that the Security and Improvement of that Kingdom, and of Their Majesties Revenue there, depends on its being peopled with Protestants, and that full Liberty and Incouragements to Protestants of all Perswasions, is the most effectual means to those Ends: And that the planting thereof being hindred; the Papists will be kept in a capacity (at pleasure) to favour K. J. and the pretended P. of Wales's Title, to countenance a French Invasion, &c.* They know, if it be not planted with Protestants, the Revenue will never defray the necessary charge of that Kingdom, but that it will be a continual and insupportable charge and drain to *England*, and require greater Forces to be kept up there, and thereby obstruct (at least) in great measure the prosecution of the War against *France*, which is their chief aim.

The promoters of these designs are well aware that the imposition of that Test, would send many Protestants out of that Kingdom; and that  
where

where it would bar one Papist from Office, it would hinder a hundred Protestants from going thither. They know the injoining of the Oath of Supremacy, or an exprefs Order or Law for their Exclusion, would more effectually bar Papists than the Sacramental Test; for that many Papists have been dispensed with by their Priests for Receiving the Sacrament in the manner required; and therefore it would never answer the end for which they pretend it, though it would the others for which they intend it. But that imposition which hath proved so inconvenient to *England*, will, if laid on *Ireland* be pernicious to the Protestants there, be a Bone of Division amongst them; and seem but an ill requital for their Sufferings, and firm adherence to the true Interest of *England*.

There was about 1664. one or two *French* Ministers, who having some Benefices conferred on them, and Stipends allowed by the Government, translated the Common-prayer Book into *French*, and procured a Chappel for the use of such *French* as would join with them in that Service. About sixteen or eighteen years after, many of the persecuted *French* Protestants, with some of their Ministers fled to *Dublin*, and set up the beginnings of several useful Manufactures; and being averse to join in that Service, a certain Charitable Peer lent them his House to Worship in, where they served God according to the manner of the *French* Churches. Whereupon their Minister was Seized and Imprisoned, &c. until for obtaining his Liberty, he consented to quit or abjure that Kingdom. Surely the usage was as Unchristian as Impolitic towards those poor distressed Refugees, who had fled thither in expectation of that liberty ( which was publicly allowed the Papists and ) which was deny'd them in their own Countrey. And it was Impolitic; for thereupon they abandoned the place, and that Kingdom lost those profitable Trades which those Men would have set up there. Not that this Severity proceeded from the temper of the Protestants of *Ireland* ( who are certainly the kindest People on Earth to Strangers, that either Travel, or abide amongst them ) but from the Bigottry of a few, who too much favoured or advanced the Popish Interest. And however I doubt not but that the usage those Favourers of Popery received from K. *James*, hath opened their Eyes, and possibly rectified the Judgments of such of them as are living; yet I believe this Sin, this Severity to the distressed *French*, did help forward the dispersion and calamities which have since happen'd to the Protestants of *Ireland*, for sins of this kind being committed by Authority, the Guilt becomes National.

*There are not those Laws in that Kingdom against Dissenters, that are in England, nor any that I have heard of for imposing the Sacramental Test; and*

and if it be the Interest of England to have those Laws, and that Test taken off, 'tis certainly no less the Interest of Ireland to incourage all sorts of Protestants. ( Like Liberty with what's here proposed, was one means which hath so abundantly peopled and enriched Holland. ) And as there are not those Laws against Dissenters there, as here, neither are there those Animosities among Protestants of different Perswasions as there are in England ; nor those Prejudices against their Majesties Government. So that a perfect Union among Protestants there is much more feasible than here. And if all parties of Protestants be indifferently admitted to places of Honour, Profit, and Trust, they will then joyntly and chearfully promote the welfare of the Publick, to the great increase of their Majesties Revenue, of the Church Livings, and of the Advantages which England receives by that Kingdom.

Thirdly, The Militia of that Kingdom ought to be settled in the hands of men of Courage, Conduct, and Integrity ; such as will not connive at, underhand countenance or abett the Enemy, give Intelligence, or secretly share in Robberies and Plunderings with them, &c. So that the Arms of the Kingdom may neither be diverted from their Defence, nor turned against them. It is indeed the folly of English

a See Nash and Murphy's Informations concerning the Popish Plot.

men that they are too little distrustful, too unapprehensive of dangers, and too remiss in providing against them. Care should be taken that all that are able should buy Arms, and that those that are not able may be provided with good Arms, and be duely exercised. That Kingdom is well furnished with brisk active men, whose native Courage and Knowledge of the Country qualifies them for Service, of which they have given good proof at Derry, Inniskillen, Limerick, &c. as also of their forwardness and zeal for their Majesties Service, even beyond what England did, ( if I may be permitted to say so. ) The Protestants in England were more than 200 to one of the Papists, yet when his present Majesty had landed with a powerful Army to rescue us from Popery and Slavery, the Nobility and Gentry, &c. stood at gaze, and it was some time before any of them appeared to own his Cause, until the Lord Delamere first, and then the Earl of Devon, slighting all dangers, appeared for the defence of the Religion and Liberties of their Country. Whereas in Ireland, although the Papists were five to one of the Protestants, and had all the Garrisons, Magazines, Army and Revenue of the Kingdom in their hands, yet the Protestants there, first in the North, then in Connaught, and afterwards in Munster, did expose themselves to the utmost Perils ; took up Arms and declared for their Majesties, when no Succours appeared for them, nor were indeed provided. And had they then been timeously owned and supported, or afterward employed according to their Merits, for the Reduction of that Kingdom, they had

shortned that work, and saved *England* two or three Millions of what hath and will be expended therein; which was too well known to some Persons. But those who wish well to King *James's* Interest, and they whose uselessness would appear, were the Kingdoms once settled, were, and are for doing every thing at the utmost charge, that by great and continued Taxes they might if possible alienate the Hearts of the People from their Majesties, and perplex their Affairs, &c. And to that end, no doubt, misrepresented both the Affairs and People of *Ireland*; who, notwithstanding all the Contempts and Reproaches cast on them, and the Temptations, not to say Provocations to the Contrary, have almost to a man, firmly adhered to their Majesties Interest. For among 200000 of them ( upon a strict enquiry ) I do not hear of sixty Protestants that have taken up Arms for King *James*, or abetted his Interest, notwithstanding his Presence among them, Power over them, and their great Necessities; which possibly ( if truth were known ) might be the true cause of their being slighted by some sort of men, &c.

If the present Wars in *Europe* continue, and that *Ireland* be once wholly subdued, the putting of the Militia of that Kingdom into a good posture will save much Money to *England*, by giving his Majesty the better opportunity to employ a greater proportion of his Army against *France*, which otherwise must be kept in *Ireland* to keep the *Irish* in Subjection.

Fourthly, Notwithstanding the Militia should be settled as hath been proposed; yet considering the odds the Papists have of the Protestants, their present Inclinations to *France*, the Ferment that is on their Spirits, &c. it will be absolutely necessary for the retaining them in obedience, to keep up a competent standing Army in that Kingdom. Yet when the Militia shall be well settled and Armed, the Popish Clergy, Lawyers, and forfeiting Persons banished, and the rest excluded from inhabiting in any of the Cities, walled Towns, or Garrisons, the less force will be requisite: For in that case the Forces which were kept up about 1680. ( in times of Peace ) will be sufficient to secure the quiet of that Kingdom, which consisted only of 1363. Horse, Officers included; viz. 24 Troops, each consisting of a Captain, at 19 *l.*—12 *s.* each Calendar Month. A Lieutenant 12 *l.*—12 *s.* A Cornet 9 *l.*—16 *s.* A Quarter Master 7 *l.* Three Corporals and one Trumpet 3 *l.*—10 *s.* each; and 45 private Horsemen at 2 *l.*—2 *s.* each, making in all *per Menssem* for each Troop 157 *l.*—10 *s.* *per Annum* 1890 *l.* which amounts for the whole Pay of the said 24 Troops, unto 3780 *l.* *per Menssem*, which is *per Annum*

45360 *l.*—

Allowed to the Lord Lieutenant's own Troop five }  
 Horse-men and three Trumpets more than to other } 252 l. — —  
 Troops, making *per Annum*

An additional pay of 3 d. *per diem* to each private }  
 Horse-man of the four Troops, doing Duty at *Dublin* } 756 l. — —

A Company of Foot-Guards Armed and Clad as the }  
 Yeomen of the Guards, consisting of a Captain at 15 l. }  
 each Calendar Month; A Lieutenant 9 l. An Ensign } 1128 l. — —  
 7 l. and 60 Yeomen at 1 l. — 1 s. each, making *per* }  
*Mensem* 94 l. and *per Annum*

A Regiment of Guards containing 12 Companies, }  
 each consisting of a Captain at 11 l. — 4 s. each Calen- }  
 dar Month. A Lieutenant 5 l. — 12 s. An Ensign 4 l. — 4 s. }  
 Three Serjeants 2 l. — 2 s. each. Three Corporals, two } 17035 l. — 4 —  
 Drums 1 l. — 8 s. and 90 private Foot-men at 18 s. 8 d. }  
 each; which for each Company comes *per Mensem* to }  
 119 l. — 6 s. *per Annum* 1419 l. — 12 s. and for the }  
 whole *per Annum*

For the Field Officers, Chaplain, Adjutant, Quar- }  
 ter Master, Chirurgeon, and Mate, Drum-Major } 1341 l. — 14 —  
 with a Serjeant and ten private Foot-men to four }  
 Companies, *per Mensem* 111 l. — 15 s. — 4 d. *per Annum*

Seventy four Companies of Foot, each consisting of }  
 a Captain at 11 l. — 4 s. each Calendar Month. A Lieu- }  
 tenant 5 l. — 12 s. Ensign 4 l. — 4 s. Two Serjeants } 64646 l. — 8 —  
 2 l. — 2 s. each. Three Corporals and a Drummer }  
 1 l. — 8 s. each, and sixty private Foot-men at 14 s. each, }  
 making in all for each Company *per Mensem* 72 l. — 16 s. }  
*per Annum* 873 l. — 2 s. *per Annum* for the whole }

They were in the whole 1363 Horse and 6210 Foot (the Officers,  
 &c. included) besides the Company of Yeomen of the Guards. The  
 Annual charge of the Horse was 46368 l. — and of the Foot 83023 l.  
 6 s. which charge was with ease defrayed out of the Revenue of that  
 Kingdom. Although these will be sufficient to prevent or repress all  
 Insurrections of the Papists in *Ireland*, yet they will not be sufficient to

secure the Kingdom against Invasion, which is that we are to apprehend from *France*; unless with the help of the Confederates, we constrain the *French King* to employ his whole Force for Defence at home.

And here it may be considered, that although the War against *France* should be ended, yet whilst our Neighbours round about are Armed, and keep considerable Forces on Foot, it would be Prudence to keep up such an Army as may secure us and our Neighbours from being surprized, &c. Now the Body of such an Army may better be kept up in *Ireland* than in *England*: For the People of *England* have at all times been justly jealous of a standing Army in times of Peace at home, and never will be easie whilst they are among them.

Such Army may therefore more conveniently, and with less charge be kept in *Ireland*, where, by reason of the plenty of that Kingdom they can subsist with less Pay: For as you may observe, the private Horsemen receive there but 2 *l.* 2 *s.* each Calendar Month, whereas they receive in *England* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per Diem, which is upwards of 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per Month, and all the Foot (except the Regiment of Guards) receive but 3 *s.* 6 *d.* per Week, which is one fourth, or 14 *d.* per Week less than is paid the common Souldier in *England*, so that 20000 Men may be kept there as cheap as 15000 in *England*, which is great odds.

Fifthly, As the Sword is to Defend a People from violence and injury in times of War; so ought the Laws in time of Peace. Therefore it will be requisite to settle the Civil Justice of that Kingdom in such Hands as may duly and truly Administer it, &c. To place such Judges and Justices of the Peace as have not been concerned in the corrupt Administrations of that Kingdom; such as may not pack Grand Juries, or Menace, Hector and compel them contrary to their Consciences to find Bills, or raise Money against their Judgments, or where the Law doth not require it; or to Tax the Country with more than is necessary for the occasion, to subserve the Interest of particular persons, or for supply of the Greedy or Indigent, &c. But above all, such as may duly punish Murderers; for Life being the most valuable thing which we possess, and the security of it being the Principal end of the Law, it ought primarily to be regarded by the Judges, &c.

The remiss Execution of the Laws against Murder in *Ireland*, hath been as a great hindrance to the Peopling and improvement of it, so also a great Reproach to it: And therefore remedy ought to be provided in this particular on this Settlement. I have heard some judicious persons in *Holland* say in derision of *Ireland*; that the Cattle, and the Mares of that Kingdom are better secured by the Laws, or usual Administrations thereof, than the Lives of the People. It is indeed the Honour of the United Provinces, and a Blessing to the People, that seldom,

dom, if ever, any person of what quality soever, that wilfully Kills the meanest person, escape Death : Whereas they say of *Ireland*, that only the Money-less and Friendless are Executed for Murder, whilst Sheep-Stealers or Mare-Stealers Rarely Escape. Murder is by Law in *Ireland* made Treason ; and because the punishment is so great, during the two last Reigns, few of any Interest have been Executed for it. Which if true, is indeed sad ; for where Judges or Juries neglect to do Justice in this respect, or that Princes grant Pardons to Murderers, the guilt becomes National. Wonderful is the care which God in his Law expresseth of the Life of Man ; and many and Critical are the inquisitions which he appointed to be made for the Discovery of Private Murder before the place where it was committed could be deemed acquit, &c. And his command is positive, that whosoever taketh away the Life of another, should be put to Death, and none may hinder, lett, or stay him, &c. And the reason is given, because that Blood is a Land-defiling Sin : And that the Land cannot in any wise be cleansed from the guilt of it, but by the Blood of the Murderer. Therefore great care ought to be taken to prevent future abuses of this kind, and to supply and rectifie the defects and abuses of the Laws in this particular.

It is dangerous to the Community to suffer Criminals to Escape with impunity ; but the worst and most intolerable Robberies and Murders, are those which are committed by the Abuse of the forms of Laws, when thro' the corruption of Judges, the Laws made for security of Life, Liberty and Property are perverted to the Destruction of any of them.

Sixthly, What hath hitherto been proposed, hath been for preventing future charge by *Ireland*, and for the securing the advantages which comes thence to *England*. I am now to shew that it is the Interest of their Majesties, and of *England*, to put that Kingdom into a thriving condition, and how that may be done.

That it is the Interest of *England* and their Majesties, is evident by what hath been already observed. The Revenues of *Ireland* before the breaking out of the present Rebellion, did surmount the charge of the Kingdom : And the Surplusage was transmitted yearly into *England*. Now if by Trade, or otherwise, the Revenues of that Kingdom had been augmented or doubled to what it was in 1685. Then the Annual advantage to *England*, or to the late King, would have been so much more : As suppose for the Year 1685. The Revenue had surmounted the charge by 40000*l.* more or less ; and that in 1686. it had amounted to 150000*l.* more than it did the preceding Year : In that Case there had been 190000*l.* transmitted thence to *England* for that Year, &c. In this respect you see it is the Interest both of the King, and this Kingdom, to put *Ireland* into a condition of continual improvement.

Our

Our Trade with *France* being the greatest out-let of our Money, and *France* being the only Kingdom of the World capable of Annoying us ; We ought long since to have stopt that yearly Drain. But it hath been our infelicity, that during the two last Reigns, our Councils being Influenced by *France*, we ran Counter to our Interest in Trade, as well as Politicks : For instead of regulating our Forreign Trade, in preserving, and gaining more Markets for our Natural Products, and Manufactures ; the hindring and abating the Importation of unnecessary Commodities, and encouraging our Manufacturers ( which are the industrious Bees of the Nation ; ) we have been put upon driving the latter from us, and restraining the Intercourse and Commerce between us and *Ireland*, and the Plantations and *Ireland*; to the advantage of a few, but great detriment to the Publick; not to say oppression of our own People abroad, while we have given *France* the opportunity of drawing away our Money, and to run away with a considerable part of our Trade; and have thereby paid his Pensioners amongst us at our own cost. But his Present Majesty being come to deliver us from such Malevolent Counsellors, it is to be hoped he will not by employing the Instruments of our past Calamities, furnish them with fresh opportunities to Betray the Kingdom, or Ruin himself.

It is the endeavour of almost all the Princes of *Europe*, to Retrench the Power of the *French* King; and 'tis no less the concern of *England*. And if I mistake not, the present conjuncture of Affairs doth furnish us with some special advantages above the rest to that end.

It is certain that intimes of open Trade *France* did yearly Gain one or two Millions Sterling by Trade with *England*, which was so much clear loss to this Kingdom. Neither was that all, but we did thereby yearly strengthen and enrich our mortal Enemies. To give some evidence to this: I find by a Ballance of one Years Trade between *England* and *France*. said to be drawn out of our Custom-House Books, for the House of Commons about October 1675. That by the certain Ballance thereof, we Imported from *France* 969105 *l.* 2 *s.* 8 *d.* Sterling more in Commodities than we Exported thither; but by the supposed or probable Ballance 2105255 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

I find likewise that about 1676 or 77. That King having some thoughts to Prohibit all our *English* Manufactures from being carried into *France*, the Ballance of Trade between both Kingdoms being laid before him, it did thereby appear that the yearly Exportations of *France* to *England* was 2640000 *l.* Sterling, and that the Importations from *England* to *France*, did not exceed one Million. So that by their own shewing, *France* Gained 1640 Thousand Pounds Sterling by *England*, which being the over-Ballance of Trade, went out in Cash. Amongst the particulars ( in this last Ballance of Trade ) said to be Imported into *Eng-*  
*land*

land, the Tissues, Velvets, Sattins, Armozines, Tabbies, Ribons, wrought Silks, Stuffs, Laces, Serges, Hatts, Fans, Cabinets, Pins, Combs, &c. which we bring yearly from *France*, are valued to amount to 1140000 *l. Sterling*. All which may be Supplied by the Labour of our own People, and the *French Protestants* that are and would come amongst us, were due Liberty and Encouragement given and care taken to put things into the right way, &c.

For the doing things of this Nature, I am perswaded it would be of singular use, if His Majesty would by Order of the Council, &c. constitute a standing Council of Trade consisting of a great number of the most knowing experienced Merchants of London; who, (or a Quorum of them) might meet weekly in some one of their Halls, (having a Secretary, Door-keeper, and Messenger allowed them) where they might consult how to remove all obstructions of Trade, how to regulate it; what Manufactures may be set up to the best advantage of the Kingdom, and how others may be improved, &c. Which, as they shall have matured, may be represented to His Majesty and Council, or to both Houses of Parliament as occasion shall require.

Now as the Idle hands of the Kingdom, together with the *French Refugees* may profitably, and agreeably be employed in the forementioned Fabricks of Silk, and other Manufactures which we were wont to bring from *France*; so may the People of *Ireland*, (even the very Natives) be aptly employed in the Linnen Manufacture for which that Kingdom is in several respects much more proper than *England*.

1. For that Land is Cheaper in *Ireland*, and where good Seed is had, the Country yields excellent Flax.

2. The Female Natives who are averse to any Robust Labour, are much inclined to the Spinning of Flax, which they can do with their Rocks, or Distaves as they sit at their Doors, or under a Hedge tending their Cattle.

3. They are a People that live on a courser and cheaper Dyet, nearer the manner of *France*, than the *English* do or can; and therefore can afford their Work cheaper, which is a particular of great weight in an Affair of this Nature. For except the Commodity be made at least as cheap as we have it from *France*, it will be brought thence in spite of all Prohibitions.

4. This is a Labour to which they have been greatly accustomed; for before the Commencement of the Present Rebellion, there was a considerable quantity of Course Linnen, Diapers and Damasks made in *Ireland*, much stronger than those which we usually have had from *France*.

5. There is an Act of the last *Irish* Parliament still in Force, for the raising of Money to set up a Bleaching Yard in each Province of the Kingdom for the Encouragement of the Linnen Manufacture. If

If we consider the concurrence of these things, *viz.* the cheapness of Land and Labour, the aptness of the Soil, Inclination of the People, &c. There seems no place so proper for this Manufacture as *Ireland*.

Many thinking men of good Sense have been jealous that *Ireland* by reason of the plenty and cheapness of Wool, would in time fall into the improvement of it into Manufactures, to the prejudice of *England*. And though their fears ( at least, as to this present Age ) are groundless, yet 'tis Wisdom to provide against even remote possibilities of detriment, &c. This may be done effectually in this Case, by setting up and encouraging the Linnen Manufacture, and such others in *Ireland*, as may fully, and profitably employ that People, and yet not interfere with the Manufactures of *England*.

Now if this can be done in a way which will lessen the *French* Kings Revenue, and keep a considerable part of our Money from being carried into *France*, it ought to be the more acceptable to us.

In the forementioned Ballance of our Trade with *France* drawn up by the *French*, they do compute, That Linnens, Canvas, Diapers, &c. which we yearly import from *France*, do amount to 400000*l.* But by the Ballance drawn out of our Custom-house-books in 1675. we find the imported Linnen from *France* in one year, did amount to 528248*l.*—16*s.* whereof the Particulars are as followeth, *viz.*

	<i>l.</i> — <i>s.</i> — <i>d.</i>
60000 pieces of Lockrams and Dowlas at 6 <i>l.</i> per piece	360000—00—0
17000 hundred Ells of <i>Virry</i> & <i>Noyals</i> Canvas at 6 <i>l.</i> per C.	102000—00—0
8000 hundred Ells of <i>Normandy</i> Canvas at 7 <i>l.</i> per Cent.	56000—00—0
2500 pieces of Quintin at 10 <i>l.</i> per piece	1250—00—0
1500 pieces of dyed Linnen at 20 <i>s.</i> per piece	1500—00—0
7600 yards of Diaper Tabling at 2 <i>s.</i> per yard	764—00—0
33896 yards of Diaper Napkening at 12 <i>d.</i> per yard	1694—16—0
1376 pieces of Buckrams at 50 <i>s.</i> per piece	3440—00—0
2800 pair of old Sheets at 5 <i>s.</i> per pair	700—00—0
1200 bolts of Boldavis at 15 <i>s.</i>	900—00—0
	<hr/>
	528248—16—0

Now were these Linnens raised in *Ireland*, as they easily may be, although the whole value of them should be transmitted thither in Cash, instead of sending it to *France*, it would yet be of greater advantage to his Majesty, and to *England*.

First to his Majesty, By augmenting his Revenue, not only by the Duty on Exportation of them out of *Ireland*, which in that case might be the same which the *French* King lately received out of them in *France*; but also in the encrease of the Inland Excise in *Ireland*, by enabling a greater

greater Consumption of Liquors, Tobacco, &c. the *Irish* being a People that spend freely when they have wherewithal.

Secondly, To *England*, In begetting a greater intercourse of Trade between the two Kingdoms. The *Irish* are naturally prodigal, and love Gaities, and were they enabled, they would soon be induced to take off more of our Manufactures and natural Products; so that there would be no need of parting with our Money in Specie to *Ireland*, as now we do to *France*. And whatever advance it would occasion of the Revenue above the charge of that Kingdom, it would be transmitted hither to lessen the Taxes in *England*, and yearly add to the Capital Stock of the Kingdom.

Thirdly, It would be advantageous both to the King and Kingdom, in lessening the Revenue of the *French* King, and impoverishing his Subjects.

As the Manufactures of *England* have enriched it, and yielded a great Revenue to the Crown to enable the keeping a powerful Navy at Sea; so the vast quantities of Manufactures which is yearly exported out of *France* into many parts of the World, and especially to *England*, do as well by the Duty paid out of them, enable that King to keep up several formidable Armies, &c. as employ and enrich his Subjects, and enable them to pay other Taxes. Now so far as we divest *France* of its Manufactures, and lessen the Exportations, so far do we abate its Power, and disable the keeping up of such powerful Armies, &c. The Events and difficulties of War are great and uncertain; but this is a sure way to weaken any Prince, and to bring any Country into a languishing Condition.

If to what hath been here proposed any shall say, That it will be more the advantage of *England* to have this Linnen Manufacture set up here than in *Ireland*. I answer,

That the other Manufactures before mentioned, with which we are supplied from *France*, will much more profitably and agreeably employ our People than the spinning of Linnen, which in this case must be done at a very cheap rate, or it will not prevent the bringing of them from *France*. And *Ireland* in the forementioned respects seems much more proper for that purpose than *England*. And if we would prevent their growing into the Wollen Manufacture, it is but just they should be encouraged in some other which may employ and maintain them: for they can no more than our People, live only on Air, though they are content to work cheaper, and fare harder.

To avoid Prolixity, I forbear to set down the proper way in which the Linnen Manufacture may be set up, and the Improvements which may be made of the distinct Branches of their Majesties present Revenue in *Ireland*.

Thus, Sir, I have in answer to your Queries, set down, as the Ancient Charge of *Ireland*, and Forces sent from *England* thither, from our first footing there, until the compleat Conquest thereof: So likewise the considerable returns of both that have been made thence: Some of the Advantages we receive by *Ireland*, and the usefulness of that Kingdom to *England*. The State of its Trade and Revenue; and shewed that the Improvement of *Ireland* for thirty five years past hath been none of the Causes of the abatement of Rents in *England*, but the contrary; with the true Causes of the advancement and abatement of Rent and Trade in *England*, with the best Expedients for their Improvements: The Methods by which our Advantages by *Ireland* may be secured and augmented, to the greater benefit of *England*, Encrease of his Majesties Revenue in *Ireland*, and to the retrenching of the Power of *France*. In doing whereof I have with my accustomed bluntness, freely imparted my thoughts, yet without designed Prejudice, against any Person or Party.

I doubt not but you will excuse the harshness of the Style, and the other Defects of these Papers, seeing, that although they were hastily written, your impatience for them did not admit them to be reviewed; and that I have elected rather to expose my own weakness, than to deny you this Testimony of my being unreservedly,

S I R,

Your very Humble  
Servant.

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F I N I S.

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*E R R A T A.*

**P**Age 22. line 14. after 38000 and 1000, instead of *l. read* Hundred.  
Page 29. line 27. after live *add in.*

There have several other Errours happened in the Press, which  
the Reader is requested to excuse.

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